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WELFARE in REVIEW

September-October 1970
Volume 8—Number 5

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The Fight Against Child Labor

U.S.
DEPARTMENT
OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION,
AND WELFARE

Social
and
Rehabilitation
Service

WELFARE in REVIEW

Welfare in Review is published six times a year by the Office of the Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service.

Statements in Review articles do not necessarily reflect official policies of the Social and Rehabilitation Service.

Suggestions or comments should be addressed to the Editor, Welfare in Review, Social and Rehabilitation Service, 330 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20201.

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Use of funds for printing this publication was approved by Director, Bureau of the Budget, April 17, 1969.

Welfare in Review is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Price $1.75 a year; $2.25 for foreign mailing; single copies, 35 cents each.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON, Secretary

SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

JOHN D. TWINAME, Administrator

WARD F. PORTER, Acting Chief
Intramural Research Division

CATHERINE P. WILLIAMS, Editor

SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER, 1970

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Research Utilization

The Challenge of Applying SRS Research

George A. Engstrom

When the Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS) of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) was created some 3 years ago, the use of the singular "service" instead of the plural "services" was by choice not accident. The use of the singular demanded the unification of services previously offered more or less separately. And it demanded that the research findings of each service be translated for and applied to the other, as they pertain to SRS' mandated functions. In the framework of this idea of coordinated service, I will look here at SRS development, test the relevancy of its research and demonstrations program to the SRS community, and point up current efforts to put into practice research findings that should improve the role of applied research as an essential component of better service to recipients.

The historical perspective

The practical application of SRS research, of course, predates SRS itself, going back to the operation of two earlier HEW agencies now part of SRS: the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration (VRA) and the Welfare Administration (WA). Research supported by these agencies and by the Social Security Administration (SSA) laid the groundwork for SRS' research utilization arm.

The first research effort was made toward solving the problems of handicapped persons. The 1956 Amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act started the move. From an initial appropriation of $298,900, VRA's research and demonstration wing had grown by 1966 to an annual appropriation of $20,570,000. The message given to the Congress and to the President was that VRA had a research and demonstration program highly relevant to program needs.

The 1956 Amendments added social security benefits for disabled persons who had spent a reasonable time in the labor market. Inability to work was made the first reason for eligibility. As a result of the addition, local rehabilitation agencies soon noticed an upswing in the number of clients who were expressing a need for work but who were also disabled and had applied for or were receiving social security benefits.

The upswing brought the whole question of relative disability to the front. Rehabilitation agencies asked themselves whether there is ever "total" disability or whether they should not try to help the disabled person marshal whatever potential he has. With these questions in mind, the VRA initiated several projects aimed at demonstrating the efficacy of rehabilitation programs for persons who were totally and permanently disabled. A formal agreement was developed between SSA and State divisions of vocational rehabilitation (DVR's) that provided for the use of social security trust funds to rehabilitate persons who had been determined to be totally and permanently disabled and who were drawing social security benefits. Since then more than 24,000 persons have been rehabilitated under the agreement; and cost-benefit studies have proved the wisdom of the action.

Both industry and government are now employing mentally retarded persons, a movement that also began after research into the question of the employability of mentally retarded persons proved the idea feasible. For example, in 1964 the St. Louis Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS) established a Work Experience Center for moderately retarded adolescents (IQ's of 40 to 65), from 16 to 21 years old, through a 3-year demonstration grant from VRA. Conducted cooperatively with the Special School District of St. Louis

Mr. Engstrom is Chief of the Research Utilization Branch, Division of Research and Demonstrations, Office of Planning, Research, and Training.

County and the Missouri Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, the project served 132 students referred to the Special School District. Of them 86 completed program services by the end of the project: 48 were employed in the community, 20 were employed in sheltered workshops, 11 were unemployed, and the status of seven was unknown. In addition, 23 others returned to school full-time for further training, and the remaining 23 were still being served. The number of those employed at the end of the 3-year project, coupled with the prospects of success for many of the 46 "still in school" or "being served," is an impressive record with mentally retarded persons.

Another highly successful program for employing mentally retarded persons was started in 1963 when the U.S. Civil Service Commission, with the advice and cooperation of VRA, established a special hiring authority for mentally retarded persons. Under the program Federal agencies enter into written agreements with the Commission to protect the interest of both the retarded person seeking employment and the employing agency. The employing agency agrees to use the services of State DVR's in carrying out the hiring authority and, with the help of rehabilitation officials, to identify tasks suitable for retarded persons. The rehabilitation counselor uses his judgment as a substitute for the usual testing procedures to determine employability and certifies in writing that the retarded person can perform a given job without physical hazard and is socially competent to function in a particular work environment and during after-work hours. As a result of this cooperation, over 2,800 placements were made throughout the United States during the first 3 operating years of the program (1964-66) and 5,210 by October 1968. The success of the project, documented by an SRS-supported demonstration, warranted its continuance permanently. Such success should encourage State and local governments and private industry to follow suit, for the program can be easily adapted to their needs.

At the same time, in the social welfare field research and demonstration efforts were becoming increasingly important to persons planning and developing programs. Short of funds, time, and choice of methods to meet social problems of mounting complexity, WA endeavored to increase as much as possible the contribution of its research and demonstration program, as authorized by the 1962 Amendments to the Social Security Act. Under Sec. 1110 of the Act, WA's Cooperative Research and Demonstration Program initiated a number of significant studies to explore the effects of dependency on the population at large. Its Division of Research (later reconstituted as the Division of Intramural Research under the Office of Planning, Research, and Training) launched studies that, for the first time, produced data on recipient characteristics useful in planning programs and drawing up legislative proposals. The Demonstration Projects Branch (now part of the Office of Planning, Research, and Training), whose work centers on the needs of State public assistance agencies, initiated a series of programs aimed at having innovative ideas included in the formulation of State programs, largely through the assignment of university faculty members to the staffs of State agencies during vacation periods or sabbaticals. New ideas in such social services as day care, homemaker services, and protective services for children and the elderly have been demonstrated. All the ideas demonstrated through the program have been acclaimed as prototypes for the social services and manpower development programs that are now mandated in present legislation.

By 1966 the applied research arms of VRA and WA had proved the value of testing and demonstrating new program ideas. By then impressive evidence had been gathered on the relevancy of vocational rehabilitation programs to emerging recipient groups—the mentally retarded and recipients of aid to families with dependent children (AFDC), for instance—and a growing body of knowledge was ready for adoption into the curriculums of schools preparing persons for the professions allied to social services.

The need for a clearinghouse for research findings had been documented by many studies, and several studies on the dissemination and use of such findings had been completed. Also, there was growing concern that effective research findings were not being put into practice. This concern was highlighted by two events in 1966. First: Mary Switzer, then Commissioner of Vocational Rehabilitation, appointed a Task Force on Research Utilization to identify significant research results and develop methods of putting effective research findings to use in rehabilitation programs. Second: a group of administrators and educators in vocational rehabilitation met at Miami, Fla., to examine the dissemination and use of rehabilitation research information. In various work groups, the relevancy of the theories on the diffusion and adoption of innovations was brought to bear on the issue of more rapid transfer of research findings to the problems of practice.

Commissioner Switzer's direction to "implement" the recommendations of the Task Force came only after almost a year of work. Of the 13 recommendations made, 11 have been adopted and are being followed.

One of the most visible results of the Task Force recommendations is the *Research and Demonstrations Brief*, one-sheet, two-page roundups of completed research projects, issued monthly. Published by the Research Utilization Branch, the editorial arm of SRS' Division of Research and Demonstrations, the *Brief* series, now in its 4th year, was created to meet the need of all practitioners—rehabilitation and social service—to keep abreast of research despite little time for reading. The summaries are kept brief because the Branch realizes that "final reports" from research studies are generally too long and too technical for easy reading and yet contain information vital to administrators, social workers, counselors, and the like in their efforts to more effectively serve recipients. Each issue summarizes the final report of a particular project or group of projects, paying special attention to the research findings and their implications for the field worker. Since 1967 the series has dealt with such diversified subjects as aging, architectural barriers, corrections, counseling, deafness, dependency, heart disease, juvenile delinquency, mental illness, mental retardation, public assistance, and workshop administration. Eventually the list will include an even broader range of topics.

From the start practitioners have welcomed the *Briefs:* 28,000 copies of each issue are presently distributed, as compared with 10,500 copies an issue when the series began. They are popular abroad, as well as in all parts of the United States.

The Research and Demonstrations BRIEF

Bring Research Into Effective Focus reads the head of the *Research Brief,* making the word *Brief* into an acronym. As Mr. Engstrom explains in this article, the *Research and Demonstrations Brief* issued by the Research Utilization Branch, Division of Research and Demonstration Grants, Social and Rehabilitation Service, is a one-sheet, two-page roundup of a completed research project meant for rehabilitation and social service practitioners. Since being introduced over 3 years ago, the *Brief* has covered a wide scope of topics, as the titles listed below indicate. Copies of the editions beginning with Vol. III, No. 3, can be obtained by writing the Branch (Washington, D.C. 20201). The supply of earlier editions has been exhausted.

Vol. I

1. *The Formidable Peak: A Study of Deaf People in Professional Employment* (Aug. 15, 1967).
2. *The Requirements of Effective Workshop Supervision* (Sept. 15, 1967).
3. *The Severely Disabled Person Is Rehabilitated* (Oct. 16, 1967).
4. *Attitudes of the Nondisabled Toward the Physically Disabled* (Nov. 1, 1967).
5. *Dependency and Its Implications for Rehabilitation* (Nov. 15, 1967).
6. *Early Referral of Welfare Clients for Rehabilitation* (Dec. 1, 1967).
7. *State and Local Efforts to Eliminate Architectural Barriers to the Handicapped* (Jan. 2, 1968).
8. *Retarded Students Can Be Helped to Cope With Adult Life* (Aug. 1, 1968).
9. *Exercise Restores Work Capacity of Coronary Patients* (Aug. 8, 1968).

Vol. II

1. *Validity of Interview Responses of Welfare Mothers* (Aug. 15, 1968).
2. *Youth in Trouble: A Vocational Approach* (Sept. 3, 1968).
3. *Interpersonal Relationships in the Rehabilitation Process* (Nov. 15, 1968).
4. *Employer Job-Sites* (Dec. 2, 1968).
5. *Preventive Rehabilitation for Public School Students* (Dec. 16, 1968).
6. *Plastic Surgery for Public Offenders* (Jan. 2, 1969).
7. *Rehabilitation of Chronic Mental Patients* (Jan. 15, 1969).
8. *Managing the Information Explosion* (Feb. 3, 1969).
9. *A Special Program To Place Mentally Retarded Persons in Federal Employment* (Feb. 17, 1969).
10. *The Need for Rehabilitation in a Labor Union Population* (Mar. 17, 1969).
11. *Rehabilitating Welfare Clients: Evidence From 14 Projects Involving 7,694 Clients* (Apr. 15, 1969).
12. *Rehabilitating the Older Worker (Part I): Literature Review—Findings and Implications* (May 1, 1969).
13. *Rehabilitating the Older Worker (Part 2): Program Guide for a Neighborhood-Based Facility* (May 15, 1969).
14. *Better Welfare Programs for Navajo Indians* (June 16, 1969).

Vol. III

1. *Short-term vs. Extended Casework* (Aug. 15, 1969).
2. *Rehabilitating the Disadvantaged* (Oct. 1, 1969).
3. *The Utilization of Research Results* (Nov. 1, 1969).
4. *New Information on "Work-Inhibited" Clients* (Dec. 1, 1969).
5. *Careers for the Handicapped in Medical Laboratories* (Dec. 15, 1969).
6. *Barriers to Employment of the Poor* (Feb. 1, 1970).
7. *Delinquents Don't Like Themselves—That's Partly Why They're Delinquents* (Mar. 1, 1970).
8. *The Group Method: A Resource for Welfare Clients* (Apr. 1, 1970).
9. *Comprehensive Services for Deaf Adults* (May 1, 1970).
10. *The Wood County Project, An Expanded Program of Vocational Rehabilitation: Part I—Impact on the Client* (May 15, 1970).
11. *The Wood County Project: Part II—Impact on the Agency* (June 1, 1970).
12. *The Wood County Project: Part III—Impact on the Community* (June 15, 1970).

Vol. IV

1. *Predicting Success For Mentally Retarded Adults* (Aug. 14, 1970).
2. *Meet the Deaf Child* (Sept. 15, 1970).

The Research Utilization Branch also publishes *Research*, an annotated list of all projects supported by the Division of Research and Demonstrations and the Division of Research and Training Centers. At first published irregularly, *Research* is now printed on magnetic tape and will be published annually. Its readers include researchers, SRS project directors, staff members of State DVR's and other rehabilitation facilities, and students and faculty members at graduate schools.

Another printed outlet for research findings is this periodical, *Welfare in Review.* Issued every other month by the Office of the Administrator, SRS, *Welfare in Review* reports on the findings of major studies in social service and rehabilitation. Originally published by the WA to report on research concerning public assistance recipients, the periodical is widening its scope to cover research in all SRS fields.

The gap between research and practice

In the first edition of *Research*, published in September 1956, Marion B. Folsom, then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, said:

Because the world is changing more rapidly than ever–is more complex than ever–it is axiomatic, if we are to progress, that we must keep one eye on today's operation and the other eye on tomorrow's problem. In short, we must make a large investment in those measures which give us vision and help us build for tomorrow.

In 1956 the expenditure for research and demonstration grants amounted to slightly less than $1,200,000 for 58 projects. As evidence that the Secretary's words have been heeded, the 1970 edition of *Research* lists some 3,500 projects dealing will all aspects of health and welfare and representing an expenditure of over $200 million. Such dissemination of knowledge is a vital part of research utilization. Yet the diffusion of new ideas is only the initial step of putting them into practice.

The concept that involvement demands commitment and that both demand change appears to be one of those complex human equations that can be endlessly studied. Though it has been the theme of many dissertations (and even more novels), it is an aspect of behavior that has only been subjected to light research and demonstration. But three studies and a treatise, which I shall now discuss, put this human equation into the context of applied research in the social and behavioral sciences and illustrate my point that it is difficult to put research into practice.

There is convincing evidence that at least part of the gap between research and practice is directly attributable to the difference in the value systems of researchers and administrators and an accompanying lack of communication between them. As a matter of fact, researchers and practitioners view one another quite differently.

One of the studies I have mentioned grew out of a research utilization conference conducted by the Institute for Community Studies in Kansas City in the autumn of 1968. Through a series of descriptive scales, administrators were asked how they perceived the social scientist and his work and social scientists were asked how they perceived the administrator and his work. The study conclusions indicate that both researchers and administrators perceive researchers as thought-oriented and progressive and administrators as action-oriented and traditional. Administrators were considered more active, visible, and authoritarian but less complicated and thoughtful than researchers. In essence, the data pointed up that the researchers and administrators did not have the same values. The study recommended that "before effective and economical utilization can take place, a better delivery process or linking system must be developed that . . . takes into account such dissonant value systems between researcher and administrator."

The dilemma of research in "human management agencies" is excellently described by Wolfensburger in an article in the June 1969 issue of *Rehabilitation Literature.* He makes the telling point that "human management agency administrators need to (a) define their roles and interests; (b) bring to awareness certain attitudes and values; and (c) make a number of key decisions about research after a cold-eyed look at the implication of these decisions and after weighing certain facts and alternatives."

Wolfensburger goes on to suggest that the agency administrator must decide whether he wishes to initiate and support research within his agency, what type of research he wishes to support, and whether he can accept or tolerate research conducted in the agency by investigators who are not a part of the agency system. These are vital decisions for the agency head and the investigator who proposes to conduct applied research in an agency. The relevancy of such endeavors must be tested from the inception of the project to the application of results. All too often administrators have viewed research as independent of operations, and all too often researchers have lost sight of the basic fact that their investigation is for the very purpose of testing the usefulness of operations. Researchers do not frequently face up to such aspects when introducing research to the practitioner. Wolfensburger's thoughts coincide with mine.

As to the second study, made from the vantage point of the investigator, Glaser and Associates studied factors influencing the success of applied research. Their study, conducted under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, produced 64 findings the investigators thought significant in the life cycle of the projects they examined. From these findings they identified four components considered crucial to obtaining a successful outcome:

- A good idea soundly conceived and tied into current agency needs.
- Commitment to and energy invested in the project by a leading person, usually the principal investigator.
- The support of other persons in the environment of the study who need to know about the research project.
- The ability to obtain the acceptance and cooperation of others in and out of the project who are not so directly involved and motivated as the research team (though they are important to the project's outcome), but who will cooperate if they are treated with respect, courtesy, and consideration.

Though Wolfensburger speaks from the agency's view and Glaser from the investigator's, they both stress the need for mutually defined and accepted objectives for a study, commitment from all concerned, the recognition that change is stressful, and a tolerance for the challenge stress introduces. Both report from the premise that the application of research demands attention from the beginning to the end of an investigation and even afterwards. The demonstration or investigation is only one phase in development.

Several years before his study on successfully and unsuccessfully applied research findings, Glaser conducted a study, supported by SRS, on factors affecting the use of research findings by vocational rehabilitation agencies. Based on the use of demonstration results from a promising study on new methods in a workshop setting in a vocational rehabilitation agency, the study offers certain promising guidelines for improving the incorporation of findings from research and demonstration projects into agency practice. Moreover, he identified the crucial element in the use of research findings, that is, the value of a face-to-face enabling process between practitioners, administrators, and researchers. His idea has been refined into what is now called a research utilization conference. Glaser does not suggest that this is an innovation; instead he emphasizes it as a process in need of sanction and support.

Substantiation for such a premise comes from Ronald Havelock, a professor at the Center for Research Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, University of Michigan. In an article in the *Rehabilitation Record* (November-December 1969), he writes:

> **Temporary systems are probably the starting point for building a bridge between research and practice. Before more elaborate and more permanent relationships can be built, researchers and practitioners have to be brought together in specially designed time-limited events, conferences, workshops, or seminars. These events need to be structured not only to bring about some contact and face-to-face interaction but also so that the issues which divide and the bonds which unite these two worlds can be thoroughly surfaced and explored. Most of all, such events need to be designed and conducted on a collaborative basis so that researchers and practitioners both feel they benefit.**

Closing the gap

Using Glaser and Havelock's premises, the first utilization conference with a distinct methodology based on objectives in public welfare was conducted by the Demonstration Projects Branch of the Division of Research and Demonstrations in Minneapolis in April 1970. With the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare as host, the conference brought together participants—administrators, practitioners, and recipients—in 13 demonstrations supported by the Branch on the delivery of services in the neighborhood. It offered a forum for the exchange of ideas, and the 81 participants' demand for guidelines for better use of model programs for neighborhood delivery of social services was its most important outcome.

A year earlier, in the spring of 1969, SRS made a grant for a 5-year demonstration project in one State of each HEW region to demonstrate the advantages of placing a research utilization specialist (RUS) in the State vocational rehabilitation agency to work for more effective use of research findings. Leaning heavily on the role of the county extension agent in agriculture as a prototype, the RUS serves as a link between research and State program needs. Broad guidelines have been issued to the participating States on what an RUS' role might be. But there is no intention of prescribing his role, because the major purpose of the demonstration is to test the relevancy of the agent to a particular State program.

In line with the emerging theory on "change agentry," the project operates on the assumption that an RUS should be in an influential position, that is, he should work as a peer with the State supervisory staff, he should be action-oriented and go beyond the mere dissemination of information, and he should have resources to support changes in the State program that

otherwise would not be tried. A link, a catalyst, a broker, an ombudsman—these are the functions that will be defined within the RUS' role during the next 4 or 5 years.

Roles, however, can be tenuous. To bring a sense of order to the demands placed on a new specialty, the Division of Training, Rehabilitation Services Administration, has sponsored a series of short-term training sessions to help RUS's acquire the knowledge essential for the development of their role and the performance of a research utilization function. They are based on a conception of training as a long-term development process into which new resources and training to acquire new research utilization skill are introduced at appropriate intervals. The major components of the training to date have been role development, consultant and other kinds of skill needed to work as an agent of change, knowledge of the research utilization process as a conceptual whole, and specific aspects of the process such as evaluating, interpreting, selecting, and applying research.

Through periodic training sessions, the RUS's have opportunities to meet with a variety of experts in research utilization and to apply the insight provided to their own experience in carrying out the research utilization process in rehabilitation. Key persons such as the director or his deputy from the State rehabilitation agency and the associate regional commissioner for rehabilitation services or designated liaison staff members from their regional Federal office have attended two sessions to assist in fitting research utilization and the role of the specialist into rehabilitation practice. Resources for acquiring skill in bringing about change have been provided by specialists in the field of applied behavioral science.

Already some movements toward innovation are being identified. In California the RUS helped introduce into the State's inservice training program some of the findings on continuing education identified by the University of Iowa. In Texas the RUS linked demonstration and practice in the development of a model system for faster delivery of services to vocational rehabilitation recipients in Houston. In Virginia the RUS is the link between workshops for handicapped persons and vocational rehabilitation workers. The major purpose of the Virginia program has been to get ready for the implementation of the 1968 Amendments to provide for the evaluation and workshop adjustment of socially disadvantaged and disabled persons. In Wisconsin the RUS has involved almost every counselor in selected district offices in "retreats" to face up to the demands of changing recipients—addicts, alcoholics, and emotionally disturbed persons.

Oftentimes demonstrations are successful in the program of the sponsoring agency but are not widely adopted elsewhere. Part of the problem is probably due to the lack of understanding of the diffusion process as it pertains to innovation, but the lack of "transferability" is also a major problem. Too often innovations go by the board because the unusual functions or operations of the demonstrating agency cannot be relocated elsewhere without seriously affecting or disrupting the operations of the adopter.

In an effort to circumvent this major barrier, SRS is supporting demonstrations of research utilization laboratories or field testing stations. Their purpose is to take approved and effective research within a certain category, adapt it to the laboratory, and with at least one other similar agency replicate the findings. The intent is to "debug" the procedures and make them more widely adaptable. So far, two laboratories have received grants. The first, located in the Jewish Vocational Service in Chicago, feeds research findings into workshops for handicapped persons. In its first major utilization study, the Service is focusing on introducing innovations to floor supervisors in workshops to make them better able to predict client performance in industry. Supervisors are using rating methods developed through several previous demonstrations to predict client behavior after placement. The methods are being introduced in the Service setting and in a cooperating workshop in Jacksonville, Ill. After the procedures have been refined, they will be presented, through a series of utilization conferences and accompanying guidelines, to all interested workshops in HEW Region V (headquarters in Chicago) for adaptation to a variety of agencies.

In the identification of findings relevant to practice, applied research should produce demonstrations on which the guidelines for later efforts to make practice common can be based. At the very least, it is a bridge and a catalyst. Yet the SRS community faces a difficulty in such efforts. SRS has lacked a central information base for research findings from which generalizations for practice can be made. With the exception of some broad clearinghouse functions developed by several of the research and demonstration arms within SRS, the agency has faced a major barrier in its attempts to explain and adapt findings from various research arms to the better service of its constituencies.

To correct this deficiency, the Research Utilization Branch has a contract to review, abstract, and index final reports emanating from all research and demonstration

arms of SRS except the Division of Mental Retardation, which already has an abstracting system. This effort will offer for the first time a central register and index of research findings and, more important, professional review of the usage potential of these findings for practitioners and administrators. The crossover effect among SRS agencies needs more extension work, but the potential for a common network of storage, indexing, and retrieval is very promising. SRS is, or soon will be, in a position to relate completed research findings to programming needs and to project what those needs will be.

Only a beginning

The beginning efforts of the Research Utilization Branch in no way meet the mandate of the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1965, which authorize the establishment and operation of a national information service in rehabilitation, using modern automated data equipment, to collect, store, analyze, retrieve, and disseminate information on the Federal-State program, research, training, prosthetics and orthotics, centers and workshops, and other topics as a service to agencies and individual recipients. Nor do they meet the prescription for use set by SRS' Community Services Administration and the Administration on Aging. However, a data base is being established from which the larger system of dissemination and diffusion can be mounted when appropriations are made to support the authorizations.

And now the tightrope! Utilization is easily tested by adoption and by the meeting of agency objectives. If all research and development efforts within the social and behavioral sciences could be as goal-oriented and as amply supported as the space program, our path would be easier. But this is not the case.

The research and development model used so successfully by industry and management has serious limitations within the perspective of the social and behavioral sciences. The variables that must be dealt with in human service agencies are much more complex. Yet research developed primarily to satisfy the curiosity of the investigator without a test of relevancy to the sponsoring agency's needs is highly questionable.

The *Research and Demonstration Briefs, Research, Welfare in Review*, abstracts, and indices of research reports, research utilization specialists, research utilization laboratories, utilization conferences–all appear as successful efforts in the greater use of research findings. They should, however, be viewed only as part of a larger system.

The system demands that the aspects of SRS responsibilities requiring research be set up in the order of their use to guide both the researcher and review panels and monitoring agents. Program staff members–the potential users of the findings–have a key role to play by maintaining a close look at use throughout the life of the project. And plans must be made as early as possible in the demonstration for the dissemination, replication, and implementation of key findings. Utilization efforts should take into consideration not only the resources of the research and demonstration arm of SRS but also program resources such as short-term training, innovation and expansion grants, and program planning and evaluation. Indeed, administrators, investigators, practitioners, and the recipient himself all have vital roles to play in successful efforts to put research into practice.

Major conclusions

Let me clarify my original intention. SRS' current utilization efforts on research and demonstration findings are systematic ways of introducing into State agency operations new ideas originally developed and supported under SRS' research and demonstration program. I have tried to point out the relevancy of applied research to program operations and have listed the problems faced and identified the direction efforts to apply research are taking. But, above all, my underlying theme has been to point out the fact that the application of research findings can and never should be a distinct segment at any point from idea to adoption. Indeed, utilization is and must always be the basic premise of applied research in any dimension.

The AFDC Family in the 1960's

David B. Eppley

Families receiving assistance under the aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) program changed in a number of major ways in the 1960's. To mention only a few, more lived in cities, more were without fathers at home, and the racial distribution changed from predominately white to about half white and half other races. These and other changes are brought to light in the findings of three national studies of AFDC families made in 1961, 1967, and 1969 by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). The three studies, so to speak, are snapshots at three points in time of the AFDC mother, father, and child and of the AFDC household. When compared, they outline AFDC trends in the 1960's. The data from the studies, the trends they indicate, and the reasons underlying the changes are the main substance of this article.[1]

The three studies were conducted by HEW in cooperation with the agencies administering the program in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.[2] Except that the 1969 study was smaller, both in the number of cases sampled and in the amount of information obtained, the study method was similar. The study months were May 1969, November or December 1967, and November or December 1961.[3]

The case schedules used in the studies were limited to the kinds of information available in a public assistance agency—facts about the household and the family, the children, the father and the mother, social services, and financial and program data. Case schedules were completed by the caseworkers most familiar with the circumstances of the AFDC families included in the studies not only to obtain information in the case records but also to draw on the caseworkers' intimate knowledge of the cases.

Mr. Eppley is a research analyst in the Assistance Payments Studies Section, Program Surveys and Statistics Division, National Center for Social Statistics.

This article will discuss facts about the household and the family, the children, and the father and the mother. Information about social services and financial and program data are aspects to be taken up in other reports. Data on the 1969 study are preliminary.

The family and the household

The following section presents data about the family and the household: number of recipients, race, place of residence, the housing unit, and AFDC history.

Number of recipients. Data in table 1 show that the average number of child recipients in AFDC families during the past decade remained stable: the median was 3 in 1969, 3.2 in 1967, and 3.1 in 1961. In contrast, the number of adult recipients per family went up because legislative changes in the Social Security Act permitted an incapacitated or unemployed parent to be counted as a recipient for Federal matching. In 1967 and 1969, when more than one adult in the AFDC case could be counted, about 12 percent of the families had two adult recipients. In 1969 half the families included only one or two recipient children, more than a fourth only one. Both proportions were higher than in 1967.

Race. The caseworkers classified AFDC families by race from actual knowledge or on the basis of community opinion.[4] Table 2 shows the increase in the 1960's in the proportion of Negro families in the national caseload. In 1961, 51.9 percent were white, 43.2 percent Negro, and 4.8 percent other races. In 1969 the caseload was almost equally divided between white persons and persons of all other races—50.5 percent white, 47.5 percent Negro, and 2.1 percent other races.

Place of residence. During the 1960's, the percentage of AFDC families living outside metropolitan areas dropped and the percentage living in metropolitan areas rose, as shown in table 3, a trend that began in the previous decade.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of AFDC families with specified number of adults, by number of child recipients, 1961,[1] 1967, and 1969

Number of child recipients	Number of adults in family							
	Total			None[2]		One adult[2]		Two adults[2]
	1969	1967	1961	1967	1961	1967	1961	1967
Total (families)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1.	26.7	24.8	24.9	46.3	46.3	23.8	22.4	15.0
2.	23.1	22.4	22.5	25.2	25.6	23.1	22.5	15.8
3.	17.6	18.2	19.0	14.0	13.6	18.9	19.0	17.2
4.	12.8	13.4	14.6	7.1	7.5	13.9	14.9	15.2
5.	8.5	8.9	8.5	3.7	4.0	9.1	9.2	11.8
6.	11.3	12.3	10.4	3.7	3.0	11.1	12.1	24.9
Median number	3.0	3.2	3.1	2.1	2.1	3.2	3.3	4.1

[1] *In 1961 only one adult in the AFDC caseload could be counted as a recipient for Federal matching.*
[2] *Data not available for 1969.*

In 1967 and 1969, more than seven in 10 of the families were living in standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's), typically in the inner city. Between 1961 and 1969, the percentage living in metropolitan areas increased from 60.6 to 72.4, for a net increase of 19 percent.

The housing unit. No data were collected on home ownership and rentals in 1969. But in 1961 and 1967, 99 percent of the AFDC families lived in "housing units," that is, in houses, apartments, or groups of rooms or single rooms intended for occupancy as separate living quarters. Very few AFDC families were living in "group quarters," that is, in institutions or roominghouses and boardinghouses.

Only 17 percent of the AFDC families owned or were buying their homes in 1967, as compared with 22 percent in 1961. This percentage is in sharp contrast to the rest of the Nation, where home-ownership is and has been the rule (in 1967, 63 percent of all occupied housing units in the United States were occupied by their owners; in 1961, 62 percent).[5] For AFDC families rentals rather than ownership increased between 1961 and 1967: about 70 percent were renting in 1961 and about 78 percent in 1967, partly because of the decrease in these years in the proportion of AFDC families occupying rent-free housing. The proportion of families with rent-free housing was small in both years: 4 percent in 1967 and 7 percent in 1961.

The AFDC family's greater lack of money, as compared with most other families in the United States, was undoubtedly the main reason for the difference in rate of home ownership, but other influences were also

Table 2. Percentage distribution of AFDC families, by race, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Race of family	1969		1967		1961	
	Total	Excluding unknown race	Total	Excluding unknown race	Total	Excluding unknown race
Total (families)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	48.0	50.5	52.9	53.2	48.6	51.9
Negro	45.1	47.5	44.5	44.7	40.4	43.2
American Indian	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.6
Other	.7	.7	.6	.6	3.0	3.2
Unknown	4.9	—	.6	—	6.4	—

involved such as type of place of residence. Home ownership across the country is less prevalent in metropolitan areas, where many AFDC families reside, than in nonmetropolitan areas.

The percentage distribution of AFDC families in 1961 and 1967, by tenure of home, was as follows:

Tenure of home	1967	1961
Total (families)	100.0	100.0
Home owned or being bought by–		
Member of AFDC group	9.7	21.8
Other member of household	7.2	
Home rented		
Public housing	12.1	69.9
Private housing	65.7	
Home occupied rent-free	4.0	6.8
Not reported or group quarters	1.2	1.4

Previous receipt of assistance and time on assistance. The average AFDC case in 1969 was short term. The median time since the most recent opening of a case was 23 months–about 2 months less than in 1967 (table 4). This drop, though small, was nevertheless the first drop since such data on AFDC families were first collected in 1958, when the median was 2.1 years.

Table 5 shows that the typical AFDC family in the late 1960's was receiving AFDC for the first time: 59 percent had never received aid before. But in comparison with 1961, the rate of return to AFDC in 1969 had gone up by 5 percentage points (from 33 to 38 percent). The median time on AFDC for the earlier period of assistance was shorter by about a third of a year in 1969 than in 1967.

The AFDC children

Data gathered in the three studies on the AFDC children concern their age, parentage, and arrangements for care of those whose mothers worked. Aspects of these are discussed here.

Age. Table 6 shows the age distribution of AFDC children in the 3 years. In 1969 the median age of recipient children was just under 9 years. About a third were of preschool age (under 6). Most–about three-fourths–were under 13. In the last decade the age of the average AFDC child rose slightly–from 8.6 to 8.9–because legislative changes in 1964 made children 18 through 20 years old regularly attending school or a training course eligible for assistance.

Parentage. Table 7 contains data for 1967 and 1969 on the percentage distribution of AFDC families, by the biological parentage of the children. In both years in just over two-thirds of the families, all of the children in a family had the same father and mother. In 1969, in the families with different fathers and mothers, virtually all involved two or more fathers rather than two or more mothers.

Table 3. Percentage distribution of AFDC families, by place of residence, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Place of residence	1969	1967	1961
Total (families)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Resides in this State			
In SMSA[1] county, total	72.4	70.6	60.6
Central city			
250,000 or more	40.9	39.8	33.5
Less than 250,000	15.1	13.7	13.4
Outside central city	16.4	17.1	13.7
Not in SMSA[1] county, total	27.2	29.1	39.4
Farm	2.0	2.9	4.9
Town or city of 2,500 or more	13.0	14.2	34.4
Other	12.2	11.9	
Out of State	.3	.4	—
Unknown	.1	—	—

[1] *Standard metropolitan statistical area.*

Care of children. Data for 1967 and 1969 on the care of children while the mother works, as presented in table 8, show that the kinds of child-care arrangements varied with the age of the child and were most often provided by a relative. In both years in more than four of every 10 cases, preschool children were cared for by a relative, either in the child's home or in someone else's home; for children over 6 (6-14 for 1969; 6-12 for 1967) just

Table 4. Percentage distribution of AFDC families, by time since most recent opening, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Time since most recent opening	1969	1967	1961
Total (families)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 6 months	15.8	17.1	16.6
6 months but less than 1 year	16.4	14.2	15.3
1 year but less than 2	19.4	18.0	16.5
2 years but less than 3	11.8	11.2	11.6
3 years but less than 4	8.2	8.2	9.2
4 years but less than 5	5.7	5.8	6.8
5 years but less than 7	8.3	8.9	8.9
7 years but less than 10	7.2	8.4	8.1
10 years and over	7.2	8.2	7.1
Not reported	.1	—	—
Median number of years	1.9	2.1	2.1

Table 5. Percentage distribution of AFDC families, by receipt of AFDC before most recent opening 1961, 1967, and 1969

Previous receipt of AFDC and length of previous assistance	1969	1967	1961
Total (families)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Received AFDC before most recent opening for–			
Less than 12 months	11.0	10.8	
12 months but less than 24	6.2	6.4	
2 years but less than 5	9.0	9.8	33.4
5 years but less than 10	5.5	6.2	
10 years or more	3.5	3.6	
Length of time unknown	2.9	2.3	
AFDC not received before most recent opening	58.7	57.8	65.6
Unknown whether AFDC received before most recent opening	3.2	3.1	1.1
Median number of years received[1]	2.1	2.4	–

[1] *Includes only AFDC families receiving AFDC before most recent opening.*

under four out of 10. About 37 percent of the working mothers in 1967 put their preschool children and 21 percent of their older children (6-12) under the care of unrelated persons. In 1969 the proportion of families with children cared for by unrelated persons was 40 percent for children under age 3, 39 percent for those age 3-5, and 27 percent for those 6-14.

The AFDC father

Data gathered in the studies on the AFDC father and discussed here concern his status in the family, education, usual occupation, and use of alcohol. In the 1967 and 1969 studies, information was obtained about the father living in the home at the time of the survey (including stepfathers) or, if there was no father in the home, about the father of the greatest number of children in the family. In 1961 the father in the home was not given precedence if more than one father was involved. In all 3 years the AFDC father meant the children's natural father, stepfather, or adoptive father.

Status of the father in the family. In the 1960's the number of families with fathers absent from the home increased from two-thirds of the caseload to more than three-fourths. See table 9. The father was absent because of divorce, separation, desertion, or unmarried status, or for other reasons. The number of fathers not married to the mothers, the main reason for the absence of a father, increased from 21 percent to 28 percent. Comparing data for the two most recent study years, the distribution of families, by status of father, changed little.

Table 6. Percentage distribution of AFDC recipient children, by age group, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Age group	1969	1967	1961
Total (children)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 6[1]	32.5	33.2	33.2
6-12	42.2	42.7	44.1
13-17	22.7	22.4	22.8
18-20	2.6	1.6	(2)
Median number of years	8.9	8.7	8.6

[1] *Includes unborn children who were counted as recipients.*
[2] *Less than 0.05 percent.*

Table 7. Percentage distribution of AFDC families, by parentage of children in the assistance group, 1967 and 1969[1]

Parentage of children	1969	1967
Total (families)	100.0	100.0
All have same mother and father	67.5	67.3
Different mothers or fathers		
Same mother, two or more fathers	28.7	30.1
Same father, two or more mothers	.3	.1
Two or more mothers and two or more fathers	2.4	2.2
Parentage unknown	1.0	.3

[1] *Data for 1961 not available.*

Education. As shown in table 10, the educational levels of incapacitated and unemployed AFDC fathers rose by less than a year between 1961 and 1969. In 1969 the incapacitated fathers had a median of 6.8 years of schooling, the unemployed fathers a median of 9.2 years of schooling. Neither had kept pace with the rest of the men in the United States, whose educational level rose by 2 years in the period (from a median of 10 to a median of 12 years).[6] As the figures in table 10 indicate, the incapacitated fathers were particularly handicapped educationally in comparison with other men.

Usual occupation. Table 11 compares the usual occupation reported for AFDC fathers, whether employed or unemployed, with the occupations of employed men, 20

Table 8. Percentage distribution of AFDC families, by child-care arrangements while mothers works,[1] by age group of children, 1967 and 1969[2]

Child-care arrangements[1]	Age of children				
	1969			1967	
	Under 3	3–5	6–14	Under 6	6–12
Total (families)[3]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Children cared for in own home					
By relative	31.6	27.7	30.9	33.7	31.9
By unrelated person	17.2	18.9	13.5	15.5	11.6
Children cared for in another home					
By relative	13.7	11.9	8.9	11.2	6.8
By unrelated person	22.9	20.1	13.1	21.6	9.8
Other child-care arrangements					
Group care[4]	7.1	14.0	3.9	9.1	1.6
Child looks after self	1.3	.9	17.3	.1	7.7
Mother looks after child[5]	3.8	4.2	7.1	7.7	29.3
Other arrangements	2.4	2.4	5.4	1.1	1.5

[1] *For 1969 includes mothers enrolled in work or training programs.*
[2] *Data for 1961 not available.*
[3] *Does not include families in which the mother was not working or (in 1969) was not enrolled in a work or training program, was not in the home, or the type of child-care arrangements was not reported.*
[4] *Day care centers, nursery schools, and so on.*
[5] *While working or (in 1969) being trained.*

years old and over, in the United States, for 1967 (data not collected on AFDC fathers in 1969). The data permit only rough comparisons. Nevertheless, differences such as those listed below are striking between the occupations of the AFDC fathers and other men in the United States:

- Only a very small proportion of the AFDC fathers were white-collar workers: only 4 percent of the incapacitated fathers, 5 percent of the unemployed fathers, and 7 percent of the absent fathers. In the general population, the percentage was 41.

- Nearly two-thirds of the incapacitated fathers and about three-fourths of the unemployed and absent fathers were classified as blue-collar workers, but less than half the men in the United States were blue-collar workers.

- About 6 percent of the incapacitated and unemployed fathers and 9 percent of the absent fathers worked in service jobs, including private household jobs, as compared with 6 percent of all U.S. men.

- The proportion of AFDC fathers who were farm workers varied widely. Fully 24 percent of the incapacitated fathers, 12 percent of the unemployed fathers, and 6 percent of the absent fathers were farm workers (most of them were laborers), in contrast to only 6 percent of U.S. men who were farm workers.

- Data for 1961 and 1967 indicate that the gap in work skill widened between AFDC fathers, particularly the incapacitated ones, and men in the Nation as a whole. The percentage of white-collar workers among employed men in the United States rose from 36 to 41 percent between 1960 and 1967; the percentage of blue-collar workers decreased from 49 to 47 percent.[7] The percentage of white-collar and blue-collar workers among AFDC incapacitated fathers stayed about the same. Service workers and farm workers decreased among U.S.

Table 9. Percentage distribution of AFDC families, by status of father in the family, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Status of father	1969	1967	1961
Total (families)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Dead	5.5	5.5	7.7
Incapacitated	11.5	12.0	18.1
Unemployed	4.8	5.1	5.2
Absent from home, total	75.4	74.2	66.7
Divorced	13.7	12.6	13.7
Legally separated	2.8	2.7	
Separated without court decree	10.9	9.7	8.2
Deserted	15.9	18.1	18.6
Not married to mother	27.9	26.8	21.3
In prison	2.6	3.0	4.2
Other absence	1.6	1.4	.6
Other status			
Stepfather case	1.9	1.9	2.2
Children deprived of support or care of mother	.9	1.3	
Not reported	(1)	--	--

[1] Less than 0.05.

employed men from 15 to 12.5 percent. The comparable figures for incapacitated AFDC fathers rose from 28 to 30 percent.

● Among absent AFDC fathers, the percentage of white-collar workers increased between 1961 and 1967, from 5 to 7 percent, but not so much as the percentage increased among men in the general population. The percentage of blue-collar workers among absent fathers decreased from 76 to 74 percent and among service and farm workers, together, from 16.4 to 15.7 percent.

● The largest shift in the period among unemployed AFDC fathers was a drop in the proportion who were blue-collar

Table 10. Percentage distribution of AFDC families with incapacitated fathers and with unemployed fathers, by years of schooling completed by father, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Years of schooling completed	1969	1967	1961
Total (families with incapacitated fathers)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary school			
Less than 5th grade (including none)	30.5	34.8	37.9
5th to 7th grade	19.2	18.5	21.7
8th grade	12.2	13.4	15.1
High school			
1st to 3d year	14.0	12.3	9.7
High school graduate	6.7	5.8	4.1
College			
1st to 3d year	1.0	1.7	1.1
College graduate	.6	.2	.2
Unknown	15.9	13.3	10.2
Median number of years	6.8	6.4	6.0
Total percentage of families with unemployed fathers	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary school			
Less than 5th grade (including none)	12.5	14.0	10.9
5th to 7th grade	13.4	13.4	19.5
8th grade	11.0	15.3	24.7
High school			
1st to 3d year	24.3	27.3	26.1
High school graduate	12.5	10.7	7.0
College			
1st to 3d year	2.7	2.2	.9
College graduate	.8	.4	.2
Unknown	22.8	16.5	10.8
Median number of years	9.2	8.9	8.6

Table 11. Percentage distribution of AFDC fathers and men 20 years of age and over in the United States, by occupation, 1967

Occupation group[1]	AFDC fathers			Men in the United States[2]
	Incapacitated	Unemployed	Absent	
Total (men with occupations reported)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar workers (includes professional and semi-professional workers; proprietors, managers, and officials; and clerks and salesmen)	3.6	4.7	6.8	40.7
Blue-collar workers (includes craftsmen, foremen, operatives, laborers, and similar types of workers)	63.3	75.1	74.4	47.1
Service workers	5.7	6.2	9.2	6.4
Farm workers	24.0	11.6	6.5	5.8
Never held full-time employment	3.4	2.4	3.1	--

[1] *Data on AFDC fathers pertain to usual occupation; data on men in the United States are on current occupation.*

[2] *Source: Employment and Earnings, vol. 14, No. 6, Dec. 1967, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (data are for Nov. 1967).*

workers, from 85 to 75 percent. However, this change was balanced by an increase, from 3 to 12 percent, in the percentage of unemployed AFDC fathers who were farm workers.

Alcoholism. Data on alcoholism in the fathers in the home (only about a fifth of the total) were obtained only in 1967. According to the caseworkers, about 8 percent of the fathers in the home were "alcoholic"—that is, they consumed intoxicants to an extent that seriously curtailed their ability to provide support and care for their children. In more than two-thirds of the families, the caseworkers did not consider the fathers to be alcoholic, and in about a fourth their information was insufficient for definite judgment.

The AFDC mother

Data on the AFDC mother (the children's natural mother, stepmother, or adoptive mother) were obtained on her whereabouts, employment, reason for not working if unemployed, age, place of birth, geographic mobility, education, and use of alcohol.

Whereabouts, employment, and reason for not working. As table 12 shows, AFDC mothers were in the home in 92 percent of the families in 1969. Over 13 percent were gainfully employed in regular part- or full-time jobs. In addition, 7 percent were either enrolled in a work or training program or waiting to be enrolled under the work incentive (WIN) program. More than 35 percent of the mothers did not work because they were needed in the home full time, and 36 percent did not work because they were physically or mentally incapacitated, had no marketable skill, or suitable employment was not available, among other reasons. In 8 percent of the families, the mother was dead, had deserted her family, was in a mental or other type of medical institution, or was absent for other reasons.

Data for 1969 and 1967 on the status of the AFDC mother do not differ importantly. But one important change did take place between 1961 and 1969: in 1961 nearly 52 percent of the AFDC mothers did not work because they were needed full-time at home; by 1967 the figure had dropped to 38.6 and by 1969 to 35.5.

Age of mother, place of birth, and geographic mobility. Few of the AFDC mothers in the home in 1969 were either very young or very old. Only 4 percent were under age 20; only 3 percent were age 55 or over. Their median age was 33. As shown in table 13, the age distribution and median age of AFDC mothers in 1969 did not differ importantly from 1967, but the average age had dropped since 1961, when it was 35.

Table 12. Percentage distribution of AFDC families, by status of mother, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Status of mother	1969	1967	1961
Total (families)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mother in the home			
Employed			
Full time	7.5	6.6	4.6
Part time	5.8	7.1	8.3
Not employed			
Incapacitated	13.7	13.6	10.5
No marketable skill[1]	6.9	11.5	11.0
Needed as homemaker	35.5	38.6	51.7
Other	22.3	14.1	3.7
Mother not in the home			
Dead	2.4	2.7	3.8
Deserted	3.3	3.2	3.8
In mental institution	.2	.4	.6
In other medical institution	.2	.2	.2
Absent for other reason	2.2	2.1	1.9

[1] *Includes mothers for whom suitable employment not available.*

In 1967 and 1969, the AFDC mothers were most typically (more than two-fifths) born in the South.[8] Only 10 percent were born in the Mountain or Pacific States.[9] Fewer than half of the mothers for whom data were reported had ever lived outside the State in which they were living at the time of the study.

The 1967 data indicate that the mothers living in the South, particularly in the South Central States, were the least mobile, as evidenced by where they were living in 1967 in relation to their birthplaces. Those living in the Pacific and Middle Atlantic States[10] were the most mobile. White mothers were less mobile than Negro

Table 13. Percentage distribution of AFDC mothers in the home, by age of mother, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Age of mother in home	1969	1967	1961
Total (families with mother in home)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 20	4.1	4.8	3.3
20-24	16.7	15.7	12.4
25-29	18.1	18.0	16.7
30-34	17.0	16.8	18.7
35-39	14.5	15.4	17.3
40-44	11.8	12.0	12.8
45-54	13.3	13.3	14.9
55-64	3.2	2.8	3.3
65 and over	.2	.1	.1
Not reported	1.1	1.3	.5
Median age	33.1	33.2	34.6

mothers. Nearly three-fifths of the white mothers, but just a little over two-fifths of the Negro mothers, were living in the State in which they were born at the time of the 1967 study.

Education. The average AFDC mother in the home in 1969 and 1967 had completed about 10 years of formal schooling. Only 21 percent of those for whom data were reported in 1967 had completed high school; the percentage was 23 in 1969. In the 1960's the educational attainment of AFDC mothers gradually went up:

Year	Median number of years of education of AFDC mother
1961	8.7
1967	9.8
1969	10.1

Table 14 shows the distribution of AFDC mothers in the home in the 3 study years by formal schooling. The rise in the proportion of those who went to high school is significant. In 1961 only 44 percent had gone to high school; by 1967 the percentage was 60 and by 1969, 63.

Alcoholism. As with the AFDC fathers, data were available on alcoholism in AFDC mothers for 1967 only. In that year, in the caseworkers' judgment, fewer than one in 50 of the AFDC mothers consumed alcohol to the extent that she could not meet family responsibilities. More than three-fourths were given a clean slate on this count. In a little more than a fifth of the cases, the caseworker lacked enough information to pass judgment.

Discussion

The changes in the characteristics of AFDC families in the 1960's are partly the result of changes in the general population of the United States, for example, the shifting of the population from rural to urban places, particularly to large metropolitan areas, and other Federal programs helping more fatherless children. The trends also reflect changes in programs and policies such as the expansion of AFDC to include relatives living with dependent children and children 18 through 20 regularly attending school.

MANY OF THE COMPONENTS that make up the current picture of the characteristics of AFDC families and recipients, as well as the changes that have occurred since 1961, are intertwined. For example, lack of money and adequate sources of income are important antecedents of AFDC dependency. The low job skill and educational level of AFDC parents are, of course, clearly related to lack of income. In addition, the fact that more AFDC families lived in cities in 1969 is related to other changes such as fewer homeowners among them; more Negro families and fewer white families, proportionately; more absent fathers; and shorter periods of being on AFDC. The last change, the more rapid turnover of families receiving AFDC, as indicated by the 1969 length of time on assistance of a little under 2

Table 14. Percentage distribution of AFDC mothers in the home, by years of schooling completed, 1961, 1967, and 1969

Years of schooling completed	1969		1967		1961	
	Total	Mothers with data reported	Total	Mothers with data reported	Total	Mothers with data reported
Total (mothers in home)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary school						
Less than 5 (including none)	8.5	10.3	9.5	11.3	14.9	17.5
5-7	11.4	13.9	11.8	13.9	17.2	20.2
8	10.8	13.2	12.4	14.7	15.3	18.0
High school						
1-3	32.1	39.2	32.8	38.7	24.9	29.2
High school graduate	16.9	20.6	15.9	18.7	11.4	13.4
College						
1-3	2.2	2.6	2.2	2.6	1.4	1.5
College graduate	.2	.2	.1	.1	.2	.2
Unknown	18.0	—	15.3	—	14.8	—
Median number of years		10.1		9.8		8.7

years, is particularly noteworthy because it is evidence that a good number of AFDC families solve their money problems and move out of the AFDC program to relative social and economic independence.

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[1] *Cf. Robert H. Mugge, "Aid to Families With Dependent Children: Initial Findings of the 1961 Report on the Characteristics of Recipients,"* Social Security Bulletin, *Mar. 1963.*

[2] *In 1961 each State scheduled a minimum sample of 500 cases (the Virgin Islands, with fewer than 500 cases, reviewed the entire caseload), or 1 percent of the active caseload, whichever was greater. Massachusetts, Oregon, and Guam did not complete reports in time for inclusion in the national report. In 1967 each State and other jurisdictions except Guam scheduled a minimum sample of 500 cases, or 3 percent of the universe, whichever was larger, if there was no city in the State of 500,000 or more people. States with larger cities were required to include at least 500 cases for counties with cities of 1 million or more and at least 200 cases for counties with cities of 500,000 to a million. The 1969 study covered a sample of about 1 percent of the recipients in each State.*

[3] *AFDC children in foster care were not included in the 1967 and 1969 studies (less than 1 percent of the total for each year).*

[4] *The term "race," as used here, is not scientific and does not represent clearly defined biological groups. Rather, it reflects social and cultural definition—people belong to a particular "race" in accordance with criteria accepted by the community or the general public.*

[5] *U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Vacant Housing Units in the United States, First Quarter 1967," H-111, No. 48.*

[6] *Source:* Census of the Population, *Series PC (1), 1C, 1960, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; and* Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, *Series P-20, No. 194, Feb. 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.*

[7] *Source:* Employment and Earnings, *vol. 14, No. 6, Dec. 1967, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; and U.S. Census of Population,* Occupation by Industry, *PC (2) 7C, 1960.*

[8] *Includes Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, which constitute the South Atlantic census division; Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, which constitute the East South Central division; and Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas, which constitute the West South Central census division.*

[9] *The Mountain States include Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada. The Pacific States include Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, and Hawaii.*

[10] *The Middle Atlantic States include New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.*

The Fight Against Child Labor

Walter I. Trattner

One measure of human progress is the extent to which a society safeguards its children's rights. Today, in the United States, we hold (in principle at least) that children are our most valuable resource and that the most productive service we can perform—for society and for them—is to educate and protect every child to the fullest possible extent. But this was not always the Nation's attitude. In fact, as the history of child labor[1] in the United States indicates, the grueling labor of children in factories, mines, streets, and fields, though it led to ill health and the denial of schooling and self-fulfillment, was tolerated—and even encouraged. Only after a long and hard fight by a number of dedicated men and women were the harsh conditions of child labor in this country altered.

CHILD LABOR was always a problem in America. In a newly settled land with few laborers and much work, survival ruled out idleness for anyone, young or old. The need to work, however, was reinforced by the Puritan belief that hard work is virtuous and idleness sinful; by American individualism, with its emphasis on personal initiative and self-reliance; and by the Poor Richard tradition, with its glorification of youthful toil as the road to wealth and success. Most Americans assumed not only that poor children had to work but also that hard work was good for all children. It kept boys and girls from the unwholesome influence of the streets, was a cure for delinquency and promiscuity, and was the first rung on the ladder of success.[2]

But it was the great changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution, an event striking the United States full force after the Civil War, that turned child labor into a vicious evil. The substitution of the power-driven machine for skilled hand production and the transfer of production from the home or small shop to the factory offered great opportunities for the exploitation of children as workers. Child labor soon became child slavery: 5-, 6-, and 7-year-old children were crowded into mines and factories and forced to work all day or night under torturous conditions for a pittance.[3]

In addition to early needs, the work tradition, and the swift and enormous growth of factories, the influx of millions of immigrants accounted for the widespread use of child labor throughout the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Most immigrants came from societies in which children traditionally worked. Poor wages forced them to continue the custom in the new world.[4] Thus, more and more children were swept into industrial occupations, as employers sought larger profits by working children for lower wages than adults. Conveniently, the practice also depressed the whole wage scale.

The census of 1900 found that some 1,700,000 children between the ages of 10 and 15, or 18.2 percent of all children of that age in the United States, were working for wages, a million more than in 1870. In 1910 the number of children age 10-15 in the labor force was nearly two million, though the percentage remained about the same—18.4. By 1920, though over a million children were working for wages, the percentage had dropped to 8.5; by 1930, to 4.7 percent (667,118 children, age 10-15).[5] See table 1. For the kinds of occupations in which children were employed, see table 2.

NO AREA of the country was exempt from the evil. On farms and in coal mines, on city streets and in tenements, in mills and canneries, children worked long hours under brutal, unhealthful conditions. In the coal mines of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky, for example, 24,000 children under age 16 were working legally in 1900—and

Dr. Trattner is Associate Professor of History and Social Welfare at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Most of the material for this article has been extracted from his book, Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America, *released by Quadrangle Books, Inc., in October, and is used with the publisher's permission. Part of the research and most of the writing of the book was conducted under a grant (421 and 421-C) from the Cooperative Research and Demonstration Grants Program of the Social and Rehabilitation Service.*

thousands of others were working illegally—sometimes below ground, under extremely hazardous conditions. The chances of surviving serious accidents were slight, and the coal filled their young lungs with black dust.[6] Those "lucky" enough to reach adulthood were unschooled, debilitated human waste.

In the glass factories of Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, some 8,000 young "wage slaves" toiled in confining furnace rooms, where the temperature ranged between 110 and 130 degrees Fahrenheit and the floors were littered with broken glass. They faced the blinding glare of the gloryhole, with its 2,500-degree molten glass. Cuts, burns, heat prostration, headaches, and fatigue plagued them. The heavy fumes and dust led to tracheal and respiratory diseases; the intense glare to severe eye trouble.[7]

In the textile mills of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama, thousands of ill-fed, half-dressed children worked all day or all night in dull, monotonous, noisy spinning rooms. Humid, lint-filled air made breathing hard. After 12 hours of work, they trudged home—pallid and pain-ridden, too weary to sleep peacefully—only to wake to 12 hours more of the same wasting labor.[8]

In the fish canneries of the South—from Baltimore to Biloxi—children, 5- and 6-years old, worked all day splitting oyster shells or plucking raw shrimp, their flesh torn by the rough shells or eaten by the alkaline from the shrimp.[9]

Conditions in the fruit and vegetable canneries of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and elsewhere were equally bad. Because farm produce could not be stored, it had to be processed as soon as it came from the fields. Work often began at 3 a.m. and lasted until every apple and every ear of corn was processed, perhaps 18 hours later. Fatigue increased the danger of accidents from the sharp instruments with which the children worked. Moreover, they were expected to drag bags filled to capacity with produce to weighing station, though such bags weighed from 20 to 60 lbs. each.[10]

Young tenement house laborers also worked under deplorable conditions. Common in all the Nation's larger cities, industrial homework on

Table 1.—Child laborers, 10-15 years of age, in the United States, 1880-1930

Year	Total number of children 10-15 years old in U.S. population	Number of children working		Working children as a percentage of all children	
		All occupations	Nonagricultural occupations	All occupations	Nonagricultural occupations
1880	6,649,483	1,118,356	396,504	16.8	6.0
1890	8,322,373	1,503,771	591,568	18.1	7.1
1900	9,613,252	1,750,178	686,213	18.2	7.1
1910	10,828,365	1,990,225	557,797	18.4	5.2
1920	12,502,582	1,060,858	413,549	8.5	3.3
1930	14,300,576	667,118	197,621	4.7	1.4

Source: The Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, *vol. IV, "Population," pp. 84 ff.*

Table 2.—Occupations in which children, age 10 to 15, were employed in the United States, 1920

Occupation	Number of employed children, 10 to 15 years old, in 1920
Agriculture (total)	647,309
Farm laborers (home farm)	569,824
Farm laborers (working out)	63,990
Other	13,495
Manufacturing and mechanical industries (total)	185,337
Textile industries	54,649
Metal industries, including iron and steel	17,194
Clothing industries[1]	13,746
Building and hand trades[1]	14,456
Lumber and furniture industries	10,585
Food industries	9,934
Shoe factories	7,545
Other	57,228
Clerical occupations	80,140
Trade (total)	63,368
Newsboys	20,706
Salespersons (stores)	15,321
Clerks in stores	15,049
Other	22,292
Domestic and personal service (total)	54,006
Servants	38,190
Waiters	3,406
Laundry operatives	2,828
Bootblacks	2,072
Other	7,510
Transportation (total)	18,912
Telegraph messengers	4,069
Draymen, teamsters, and expressmen	3,768
Telephone operators	3,188
Other	7,887
Extraction of minerals	7,191
Professional service	3,465
Public service	1,130
All occupations	1,060,858

[1] Includes apprentices.

Source: Children in Gainful Occupations in the Fourteenth Census of the United States, *U.S. Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1924).*

commodities small enough to be carried home and not requiring the use of elaborate machinery or skilled labor combined the evils of long hours, low wages, and monotonous work in filthy, badly ventilated, and overcrowded rooms with the deprivation of neglected education and shattered health. Thousands of children were kept from school each day to sew on buttons, pull bastings, make artificial flowers, string beads, and the like. Few other kinds of labor sapped so much of the strength and spirit of children. The factory child at least went home to a different environment after work; the young tenement worker, whose home was also his place of work, had no place to go.[11]

Many children, especially boys, worked at street-trading—selling newspapers, peddling numerous items, shining shoes, running errands, making deliveries, and carrying messages. The evils of street trading rose more from the surrounding conditions than the long hours or the nature of the work. The streets were dangerous, the city noisy and confusing. Many of the young traders lacked adult supervision while on the streets. Irregular eating and sleeping habits induced fatigue, causing many to miss school or fall behind in their studies. Frequently, they took to smoking, drinking, and gambling during lulls in business or after hours.[12]

Night messengers spent most of their time assisting prostitutes, pimps, gamblers, and other members of the underworld. Despite the belief that idleness led to juvenile delinquency, working children in general and street traders in particular were far more likely to become delinquents and criminals than children in general. A very high proportion of the inmates of reform schools and prisons had been street traders in early life.[13]

In some ways, however, the Nation's most serious child labor problem was in the fields where, at the turn of the century, over a million boys and girls (11 percent of all children in the country age 10-15, as shown in table 1) worked from sunup to sundown 6 and sometimes even 7 days a week. Agricultural child labor was shrouded with more prejudices and misconceptions than any other form of the injustice. At least from the days of Thomas Jefferson, the joys of farm life and the superior morality of the rural environment had been celebrated by so many American writers and public men that it had become a mass creed. Most Americans assumed that farm work was wholesome for children and was to be encouraged. But nothing could have been less true.

Conditions in the fields, where most workers, including children, were forced to live in unsanitary, makeshift shacks, were as bad as in any factory or mine. In the open air, under the hot sun or chilling rain, from early spring to late fall, young children did backbreaking labor for long hours at dreary, repetitive tasks, often under hazardous conditions.[14]

Such unsanitary and unhealthy working and living conditions took their toll from the home, the schoolhouse, and the playground. While most Americans looked on either with approval or indifference, in 1910 the Nation's mines, factories, mills, tenement sweatshops, streets, and farms robbed nearly two million children of health, education, happiness, and sometimes even life itself.

BEGINNING in the 1870's, a few persons and groups spoke out against the injustice of premature labor. In 1872 the Prohibition Party condemned child labor, and in 1881 the American Federation of Labor, at its first annual convention, called on the States to pass legislation barring children under 14 from all gainful employment. At its fourth biennial convention in 1898, the General Federation of Women's Clubs adopted a series of labor resolutions, one of which called for an end to child labor and urged each member to "be a 'committee of one' to use all possible influences against anything which dwarfs the minds and bodies of the children."[15]

The most important body working to regulate child labor during these years, however, was the National Consumers' League (NCL). Its general secretary and leading spirit after 1899 was the fiery Florence Kelley of Hull House, once chief factory inspector of Illinois. Long before most, she saw the need for the Federal Government to take responsibility for ending child labor. Under her leadership the NCL, which sought to interest consumers in the improvement of working conditions, conducted vigorous campaigns against tenement sweatshops, starvation wages, excessive working hours, and child labor.[16]

The early efforts of such groups bore some fruit. Several States passed minimum wage laws; others prescribed maximum hours for child workers; and still others enacted statutes prohibiting night work for children under 14. By 1900, 28 States had enacted protective measures of some kind for child workers. Yet very little was accomplished toward uprooting the evil. Most of the laws were loose, full of exemptions, and, at best, laxly enforced.[17] Society was not yet fully awakened to the injustice or ready to restrict it. But the fight by those who did recognize the evil went on.

Proponents of regulation argued that child labor was cruel, uneconomical, unnecessary, costly, and

contrary to the best interests of the community. Every dollar spent in preventing child labor and in promoting the health and education of children was both humanitarian and essential for social welfare and progress.

It should be obvious, they argued, that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Long hours of taxing labor by young children curbed their full physical development and stifled their mental and moral growth. Daily rounds of monotonous unskilled drudgery led only to a purposeless life, plagued by infirmity, dependency, and delinquency. To take care of the sick, the injured, the delinquent, and the criminal cost taxpayers millions of dollars each year—it was economical and in the public interest to abolish child labor.[18]

To the argument that the children of the poor had to work to help support their families, the reformers replied that such a responsibility should not be thrust on children already handicapped by destitution. Supporting poor families was basically a relief problem and society should bear the cost. Moreover, it would be unnecessary for boys and girls to work if the proper wage earner, the father, was paid a living wage. The very presence of the child laborer was one of the main reasons he did not receive such a wage. Child labor was a leading cause as well as an effect of poverty.[19]

But the evil was so widespread, the interests profiting from it so powerful, that only a truly aroused public could eradicate it. In both the North and the South, leading reformers sought to reach the public. In the South Edgar Gardner Murphy, a clergyman, shocked by conditions in Alabama's textile mills, organized the Alabama Child Labor Committee, the first organization of its kind in the United States.[20] In the North reformers in New York took the lead. At the instigation of such social workers as Florence Kelley, Lillian Wald, and Robert Hunter, the New York Child Labor Committee was formed in 1902.[21] The New York and Alabama committees and others established elsewhere were made up mainly of social workers, reformers, and academicians who quickly enlisted the support of prominent men and women, newspapers, and religious and civic groups. Despite violent opposition, largely from business interests, these organizations were fairly successful in educating the public and in getting legislation passed. In 1902-3, 15 States either revised old or passed new child labor laws.[22]

SUCH SUCCESSES, however, only made the reformers more aware of the need for a larger organization to spearhead a nationwide campaign against the injustice and to coordinate the various State and local groups. As a result, when Edgar Gardner Murphy advanced the idea at the 1903 National Conference of Charities and Correction, it was enthusiastically received. A year later the National Child Labor Committee was organized.[23]

The NCLC won the support of eminent men and women all over the country, largely because of the leadership of Felix Adler, a prominent educator and founder of the Ethical Culture Society; Samuel McCune Lindsay, industrial relations expert and professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and at Columbia University; Alexander J. McKelway, a Southern clergyman-social worker; and Owen R. Lovejoy, another former clergyman doing social work.

The NCLC set out to supplement not supplant the work of local committees. In States without local committees, it sought to establish them and to help such committees investigate and report the facts about child labor and secure the passage and enforcement of effective legislation. Through research, study, publicity, and legislation, the committee aimed at informing the public about the source and consequences of child labor and at encouraging the public to eradicate it.[24]

The NCLC directed its early efforts at obtaining State laws specifying minimum age (14 for manufacturing and 16 for mining) and maximum hours (8), prohibiting night work (from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m.), and requiring documentary proof of age. It hired a photographer, Lewis W. Hine, to obtain documentary evidence of the horrors of child labor. Training himself to be resourceful and using any feasible pretext, Hine went into factories, canneries, mines, and homes by day or night to photograph and interview working children. He secretly measured children's height according to buttons on his coat and scribbled notes while keeping his hands in his pockets. When he was barred from factories and mines, he lingered outside and snapped pictures of the children as they left. His graphic pictures roused public sentiment in a way no printed page or lecture could, and no charge of fraud could be lodged against them.[25]

By 1909 the NCLC had helped secure new child labor laws or amendments to old ones in 43 States. But progress was slow and uneven. Although the more progressive States passed good laws, many other States, particularly in the South, lagged. As a result, States with good laws suffered from the competition of States with poor laws, and every effort to

improve a State law brought objections from manufacturers who dreaded "unfair" competition. Moreover, the cost in money and energy to secure the passage of laws kept both the national and local child labor committees from successfully following up on enforcement. In many places factory inspection was weak and corrupt. When it became clear that State regulation was no solution to the problem, the NCLC and other supporters of child labor regulation turned their efforts to obtaining Federal legislation.[26]

FIRST, THE NCLC DIRECTED Owen R. Lovejoy, then its general secretary, to draw up a legally sound and effective child labor bill. He, in turn, consulted eminent lawyers; State officials; representatives of interested groups; Congressmen; Federal officials, including Julia Lathrop, Chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau; and two members of President Wilson's Cabinet. But the persons chiefly responsible for the measure, which was presented to the NCLC in 1913, were William Draper Lewis, dean of the Pennsylvania University Law School, and Charles P. Neill, a former commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Labor. Based on the power of the Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the bill prohibited the interstate shipment of articles produced by children under 14 in factories, workshops, and canneries, or children under 16 in mines, quarries, and other hazardous places of occupation. It also prohibited the shipment of goods made by children under 16 who worked more than 8 hours a day or at night.[27]

Introduced in the Congress early in 1914, the measure, which merely embodied standards already tolerated in many States, was immediately endorsed by many labor, social welfare, and civic organizations. At public hearings the only critics of the bill were representatives of the Southern textile mills. They denounced the movement for Federal child labor legislation as an illegal invasion of states' rights and an effort by Northern interests to kill Southern industry.[28]

Nevertheless the House passed the measure by a wide margin. In the Senate the bill came out of committee just as the session was closing. Managers of the measure asked for unanimous consent to bring it directly to the floor. However, Senator Lee Overman of North Carolina objected, and 3 days later the Congress adjourned without the Senate acting.[29]

The NCLC had the measure reintroduced at the start of the next session. Once again Southern textile manufacturers opposed it. Now, however, they were joined by James A. Emery, chief attorney for the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM). Together they denounced the bill on now familiar grounds. Nevertheless, in January 1916, the Keating-Owen child labor bill passed the House by a vote of 343-46. (Most of the Congressmen who voted against the bill were from the States in which textile manufacturing and seafood canning were centered.) Six months later the bill passed the Senate by a 52-12 margin: 10 Southern Senators and the two Senators from Pennsylvania (a State with more child laborers than all the Southern States combined) voted against it. On September 1, 1916, President Wilson signed the bill into law, to be effective a year later.[30]

The reformers were jubilant. Though they recognized that the statute only affected children in industries conducting interstate commerce and left most working children untouched by Federal jurisdiction, they felt that by establishing a uniform minimum standard of protection, by standardizing the machinery for enforcement, and, above all, by putting Federal authority behind the principle of child labor control, the statute would eliminate child labor in time.

UNFORTUNATELY, the law's potential effectiveness was never fully demonstrated. On the grounds that it deprived his two sons (both under 16) of their constitutional rights to liberty and property, specifically their right to work an 11-hour day, Roland Dagenhart of North Carolina obtained a permanent injunction against enforcement of the act 3 days before it was to go into effect. In June 1918 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the lower court's decision and ruled, by a 5-4 margin, that the Federal law was unconstitutional. Because it regulated local labor conditions in manufacturing, not interstate commerce, it was an unwarranted exercise of the interstate commerce power and an invasion of states' rights.[31]

The court did not hold that child labor should not be regulated or that it could not be regulated through Federal legislation. It merely said that it could not be regulated through the use of the interstate commerce clause. Reformers immediately got to work in search of another method.

The NCLC and the U.S. Children's Bureau decided that the use of the Federal taxing power would be the quickest and best method of securing permanent Federal child labor standards: a tax eating up the profits of manufacturers and businessmen using child labor, they argued, would end the practice. Thus supporters of Federal regulation rallied behind a measure introduced in Congress on November 15, 1918, which embodied the standards of the first Federal child labor law. The bill,

sponsored by Senator Atlee Pomerene of Ohio, placed a 10 percent tax on the net profit of all canneries, mills, factories, or other manufacturing establishments employing children under 14 years of age, on all mines and quarries employing children under 16, and on all businesses employing children under 16 for more than 8 hours a day, 6 days a week, or at night.[32] The Pomerene amendment passed the Senate by a vote of 50-12, and in February 1919 the "Tax on Employment of Child Labor" was approved in the House by a 310-11 margin. President Wilson signed the act into law on February 24, to be effective in 60 days.[33]

Again the Southern textile group secured a permanent injunction against the law's enactment, and in December 1919 the case was argued before the Supreme Court. On May 15, 1922, the Court, in an 8-1 decision, declared the second Federal child labor law unconstitutional. Speaking for the majority, Chief Justice William H. Taft, long a foe of Federal child labor legislation, stated that the second law, like the first, regulated local labor conditions and thus was an infringement of states' rights.[34]

CONVINCED that the American people considered child labor undesirable and Federal regulation essential to abolish the practice, reformers again turned to the practical question of finding the best method of abolishing the evil. Because the courts had denied the use of the two most important Federal powers for achieving social justice—interstate commerce and taxation—the only remaining course seemed to be an amendment to the Constitution to give the Congress the express right to regulate the practice.

Consequently, 2 days after the Court's decision, Congressman Roy G. Fitzgerald of Ohio introduced an amendment that would empower the Congress to regulate the employment of persons under 18. Two days later Senator Hiram Johnson of California introduced a similar measure in the Senate.[35]

Interest in an amendment giving the Congress the power to control child labor was not confined to reformers; support was widespread and diverse. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, President Warren G. Harding, and many others not noted for reform activities supported the idea. As expected, the opposition was led by representatives of the textile interests and of right-wing groups. Chief among the opponents were the Sentinels of the Republic, a "superpatriot" organization supported by big business (its motto: "Every citizen a Sentinel! Every home a sentry box"), and the publishers of the biweekly, the *Woman Patriot*, formerly the organ of the Anti-Suffrage Association (dedicated to the "defense of the family and the state against feminism and socialism").[36]

An amendment regulating child labor passed the House on April 26, 1924, by a 297-69 vote, and the Senate on June 2, by a 61-23 margin. Its wording was largely the work of two Senators considered authorities on the Constitution—George Wharton Pepper of Pennsylvania, a Republican and a Protestant, and Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, a Democrat and a Catholic. The proposed amendment read as follows:

Section 1. The Congress shall have the power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.[37]

It was, in other words, merely an enabling act to give the Congress the right to fix national standards without violating a State's right to enact and enforce higher standards.

The battle now shifted from the Congress to the States. Although aware that a strenuous fight lay ahead, supporters of the amendment were encouraged by the size of the favorable vote in the Congress, by friendly press notices, and by the measure's widespread popular support. An affirmative vote by Arkansas only a few weeks after the Congress approved the measure provided further encouragement.

THE OPTIMISM, however, was short-lived. During the summer of 1924 the country was swept with a bitter propaganda campaign that misrepresented the amendment's history, its authors and supporters, its terms and objectives. The opposition used newspapers and magazine articles, editorials and advertisements, and leaflets in great number. Speeches were delivered over the radio, as well as at public meetings. The powerful wave of opposition and the speed with which it developed amazed the reformers.[38]

Though some arguments were thoughtful and sincere, most were exaggerated and even hysterical. The most common charges were that the amendment was unnecessary; its wording was too broad; the Congress would pass many extreme laws under its provisions; it endangered states' rights; it would lead to an ominous increase of Federal power and bureaucracy; parental control would be surrendered to the Federal Government; and the amendment was a Communist-inspired plot.[39]

Business interests were in the forefront of the opposition. *The Manufacturers' Record,* a leading trade journal, said that the amendment was fathered by Socialists and Communists who "look forward to its adoption as giving them the power to nationalize the children of the land and bring about in this country the exact conditions which prevail in Russia."[40]

The NAM made defeat of the amendment its major item of business. Through the National Committee for Rejection of the Twentieth Amendment, which it established, its influence was considerable. Though opposition from the NAM and its associates was not surprising, their efforts to enlist agrarian resistance were unforeseen and difficult to combat. The *Manufacturers' Record* warned parents that the amendment would prevent children from doing any kind of work, including "driving the cows to pasture or hoeing the vegetables."[41]

Ratification forces proved no match for their well-organized and well-heeled opponents. Playing on the popular fears and sensitive issues of the 1920's, the opposition successfully distorted and discredited the amendment. The campaign suffered a number of quick reverses—in Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina—and its early momentum was lost. By the early spring of 1925, when 12 States had rejected the amendment and only four (Arkansas, Arizona, California, and Wisconsin) had ratified it, most supporters admitted defeat.[42] Seven years later only two more States had ratified the measure (Montana and Colorado), and more than 10 others had turned it down.

Meanwhile, the Great Depression intervened, and the competitive pressure on selling prices led employers to hire a large number of boys and girls at lower wages and longer hours than adults. By the spring of 1933, every weakness and loophole in State legislation had become a breeder for the spreading contagion of child labor. Sweatshops and fly-by-night plants exploited children, moving at will across State lines to profit by the less stringent laws of nearby States. Yet 10 million adults were without jobs.[43] Faced with the ruin of industries because of cancerous competition, the spreading virus of adult unemployment and soaring relief expenditures, and the realization that the labor of immature children was sapping the foundation of the Nation's welfare, legislators began to see the need to act. Reluctant to move forward individually, however, lest their States suffer from competition, they began to respond favorably to the Federal child labor amendment, to the surprise of reformers.

Between February 1 and July 15, 1933, nine State legislatures ratified the measure. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and members of his Cabinet urged others to take similar action. The halfway mark was passed by December when five more States voted approval in special legislative sessions, bringing the total to 20.[44] It now seemed possible that 16 additional States would approve the measure and the amendment would become a reality. The NCLC and its allies responded by renewing their active support for it.

BUT REACTION set in and the same old story was repeated. Aroused opponents embarked on another propaganda campaign against the amendment. Prominent persons, among them Nicholas Murray Butler, Elihu Root, and A. Lawrence Lowell, spoke out against the proposal as violating states' rights. The old bogey that the measure was written in Moscow was paraded again.[45]

Farmers contended that the amendment would prevent their children from milking cows or washing dishes, and spokesmen for several religious groups warned their adherents that the Federal Government would assume authority over their children if the amendment were adopted. Some opponents added the Nazis to the list of bogeymen.[46]

The chief spokesman for the opposition this time was a group called the National Committee for the Protection of Child, Family, School, and Church, set up in January 1934 by Sterling E. Edmunds, a St. Louis attorney and an executive committee member of the Sentinels of the Republic. Supported by large industry, the group included members of the Sentinels, the Woman Patriot Publishing Co., and others actively opposed to the amendment. Working out of St. Louis, the group flooded State legislatures with literature that claimed the amendment would lead to the nationalization of the Nation's children, compulsory military training in the schools, and Federal snoopers descending on every home. It sponsored newspaper and radio propaganda, hired lobbyists, lined up powerful interest to block the measure, and offered its services to help defeat the amendment in any State where it was being considered.[47]

As in the past, the opposition was formidable. More important, conditions in the mid-thirties no longer favored a liberal attitude toward the question. The economy was being restored, and child labor as a cause of adult unemployment was of less concern. Also, the rise of dictatorships and extreme nationalism in a number of countries, accompanied by the oppression of religious groups, aroused fears in the minds of many; anything that savored of a strong central regime became suspect. Opponents contended that the rash of New Deal agencies was but a taste of the Federal control in store for the country should the amendment

be adopted.[48] Thus only four States ratified the measure in 1934-35; 12 more ratifications were needed.[49]

BUT HOPEFUL SIGNS continued to appear. A number of important newspapers formerly opposing the amendment came out in its favor in 1936. On January 8, 1937, President Roosevelt sent a letter to the Governors and Governors-elect of the States yet to ratify the amendment whose legislatures were in session, urging favorable action. Two days later, former President Herbert Hoover, exclaimed: "The President is right. The Child Labor Constitutional Amendment should be ratified."[50] In February 1937 a Gallup poll indicated that 76 percent of the American people favored passage of the amendment: in every State a majority of the voters approved ratification.

Yet, in the face of such support and despite the heroic efforts of the NCLC and other national and local organizations to make State legislatures respond to the clear will of the people, only four States took favorable action in 1937. Eight more ratifications were necessary.[51] But no other State has ever ratified the Federal child labor amendment.

As it turned out, the amendment proved unnecessary, for in June 1938, the Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, a measure that, in its child labor provisions, closely resembled the first Federal child labor law. It prohibited the shipment of interstate commerce of goods made in factories, workshops, or canneries by children under 16 or produced by children under 18 in occupations ruled hazardous by the U.S. Children's Bureau. On February 3, 1941, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the legality of the act and specifically overruled the 1918 decision. It was a momentous victory for the child labor reformers.[52]

EVEN MORE POWERFUL FORCES were at work meanwhile. The passage of improved State and local child labor laws and compulsory school attendance laws, the development of better inspection and enforcement systems in factories and the like, an increase in the number and percentage of working women, the growing strength of organized labor, the passage of minimum wage legislation, the rising real income of the wage-earning class, and a reluctance on the part of employers to hire young men eligible for the draft were reducing the incidence of child labor. So, too, were structural changes in the economy that demanded more skilled and semiskilled workers. The most important change was mechanization or automation—the use of machines to perform tasks more efficiently and, in the long run, less expensively than hand labor. Whether in factories or on farms, the drive toward industrial efficiency led to the replacement of many young laborers by machines. As a result, though remnants of the injustice still exist, particularly among underpaid, undernourished, and undereducated migratory children who work as field hands, by the 1950's the practice of "child labor" was largely eliminated.[53]

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[1] *As knowledge of children's needs increased and more emphasis was placed on the importance of education, the definition of* child labor *changed. As used here,* child labor *means the work of children under conditions interfering with their physical development and education to the point of hindering their development into happy and socially useful adults. Work around the home or farm or elsewhere in line with a child's strength, carefully supervised by parents or other adults, and not keeping the child from school or needed recreation is considered part of a child's upbringing.*

[2] *See Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller,* The Age of Enterprise *(New York, 1961), pp. 119-28; Ralph H. Gabriel,* The Course of American Democratic Thought *(New York, 1940), pp. 216-33; John Spargo,* The Bitter Cry of the Children *(New York, 1906), pp. 140-90; Jeremy P. Felt,* Hostages of Fortune *(New York, 1965), pp. 1-37.*

[3] *John L. and Barbara B. Hammond,* The Town Laborer *(New York, 1917), p. 174; Thomas S. Adams and Helen L. Sumner,* Labor Problems *(New York, 1905), p. 21 ff.; Stuart A. Queen,* Social Work in the Light of History *(Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 15-59; Vincent A. McQuade,* The American Catholic Attitude on Child Labor Since 1891 *(Washington, 1938), p. 4; and Grace Abbott, ed.,* The Child and the State, *2 vols (Chicago, 1947), I. pp. 79-85.*

[4] *Adams and Sumner,* Labor Problems, *p. 57; Eva McDonald Valesh, "Child Labor,"* American Federationist, *Mar. 1907, pp. 158; and Graham Taylor, "A Human View of Child Labor,"* Charities, *Jan. 6, 1906, pp. 434-35.*

[5] *Census figures included only children 10 years old or over, though there were many child laborers under that age. Moreover, even for the age group covered, children "attending school" were not listed as working, though they might work 7 or 8 hours a day before or after school. Thus most street traders and tenement home workers were not included in the census figures. Also, because the census was taken in April, before the start of the hand processing for which children were used, the number of child laborers in agriculture was grossly underestimated. Taking these and other shortcomings into account, bolstering the official figure by about 25 percent is justified. See U.S. Bureau of the Census,* Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900 *(Washington, 1904), "Occupations," p. 142; and Elizabeth Sands Johnson, "Child Labor Legislation," in John R. Commons and others,* History of Labor in the United States, *4 vols. (New York, 1926-35), III, pp. 403-37.*

[6] *Frances H. Nichols, "Children of the Coal Mines,"* Review of Reviews, *Feb. 1903, pp. 214-15. See also Owen Lovejoy,* In the Shadow of the Coal Breakers *(New York, 1907),* Child Labor in the Coal Mines *(New York, 1906), "Child Labor in the Soft Coal Mines,"* Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science *[hereafter referred to as* Annals*], Jan. 1907, pp. 26-34; and "The Extent of Child Labor in the Anthracite Coal Industry,"* Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference on Child Labor *[hereafter referred to as* Proc. ACCL*], (New York, 1907) pp. 35-49.*

[7] *Quoted in Owen Lovejoy, "Child Labor in the Glass Industry,"* Annals, *Mar. 1906, p. 302. See also John William Larner, Jr., "The Glass House Boys: Child Labor Conditions in Pittsburgh's Glass Factories, 1890-1917,"* Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, *Oct. 1965, pp. 355-64; Florence Kelley, "A Boy-Destroying Industry,"* Review of Reviews, *Aug. 1903, pp. 221-22; Adams and Sumner,* Labor Problems, *p. 45; and Owen Lovejoy,* Child Labor in the Glass Industry *(New York, 1905).*

[8] *Alexander J. McKelway, "Child Labor in the Southern Cotton Mills,"* Annals, *Mar. 1906, pp. 259-69, and "Child Labor in Southern Industry,"* Annals, *May 1905, pp. 430-36. See also Elizabeth H. Davidson,* Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States *(Chapel Hill, 1939); John G. Van Osdell, Jr., "Cotton Mills, Labor, and the Southern Mind, 1880-1930" (doctoral dissertation, Tulane*

University, 1966); and C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 *(Baton Rouge, 1951), pp. 112-14.*

[9]*Pauline Goldmark, "Child Labor in the Canneries,"* Annals, *Mar. 1910, pp. 152-54; Lewis W. Hine, "The Child's Burden in the Oyster and Shrimp Canneries,"* Child Labor Bulletin, *May 1913, pp. 105-11; Rheta Claude Door, "When Is a Factory Not a Factory?"* Hampton Magazine, *Feb. 1912, pp. 34-39; Rene Bach, "Shrimps and Babies,"* Technical World, *Jan. 1912, p. 400; Edward F. Brown, "The Neglected Human Resources of the Gulf Coast,"* Child Labor Bulletin, *May 1914, pp. 112-16; Lewis W. Hine, "Baltimore to Biloxi and Back: The Child's Burden in the Oyster and Shrimp Canneries."* Survey, *May 3, 1913. pp. 167-72.*

[10]*Ernest S. Whitin, "Children in the Canning Industry,"* Outlook, *Jan 21, 1905, pp. 177-79; "When a Shed Is Not a Shed,"* Survey, *Apr. 10, 1909, p. 85; Felt,* Hostages of Fortune, *pp. 170-77; Door, "When Is a Factory Not a Factory?" p. 36.*

[11]*Louis I. Athey, "The Consumers' Leagues and Social Reform, 1890-1923 (doctoral dissertation, University of Delaware, 1965), p. 141. See also Felt,* Hostages of Fortune, *pp. 143-45; Henry White, "Perils of the Home Factory,"* Harper's Weekly, *Feb. 11, 1911, p. 10; Mary Van Kleeck, "Child Labor in Home Industries,"* Annals, *Mar. 1910, pp. 145-49; Rheta Claude Door, "The Child Who Toils at Home," Sergeant, "Toilers of the Tenements,"* McClure's, *July 1910, pp. 231-48.*

In addition, tenement house labor presented serious risks to the consumer, for those working and living in the overcrowded sweatshops were easy prey to tuberculosis and other contagious diseases. In 1912, for example, Dr. Annie S. Daniel found that, of 182 homeworking families with whom she had contact, 69 had members with contagious diseases, ranging from scarlet fever to polio. A manager of one of New York's finest clothing houses, whose goods were finished in the tenements, admitted that "if people knew under what conditions their clothes were made . . . they would not buy . . . or wear them."

[12]*Owen Lovejoy,* Child Labor and the Night Messenger Service *(New York, 1910) and "Child Labor and the Night Messenger Service,"* Survey, *May 21, 1910, pp. 311-16; Edward N. Clopper,* Child Labor in City Streets *(New York, 1910) and Child Labor in Street Trades (New York, 1910).*

[13]*Study after study based on the records of juvenile courts, reformatories, and prisons conclusively demonstrated a direct relationship between child labor, especially in the streets, and crime. Usually anywhere from 50 to 75 percent of the inmates of correctional institutions had been newsboys at a young age. Though other aspects no doubt also contributed to their antisocial behavior, street work certainly was in large measure responsible for it. See, for example, Josephine Goldmark, "Street Labor and Juvenile Delinquency,"* Political Science Quarterly, *Sept. 1904, pp. 417-38; National Child Labor Committee (hereafter referred to as NCLCC),* Newsboys Life: What Superintendents of Reformatories and Others Think About Its Effect *(New York, 1910); "Street Trades and Delinquency,"* Survey, *May 20, 1911, p. 285; Edward N. Clopper,* Street Work and Juvenile Delinquency *(New York, 1914); Fred S. Hall, "Child Labor and Delinquency,"* Child Labor Bulletin, *Nov. 1914, pp. 37-51.*

[14]*Quoted in Gertrude F. Zimand, "Brief Historical Sketch on the National Child Labor Committee," Ms., May 6, 1965, in the author's possession. See also Edward F. Brown, "Child Laborers in the Cranberry Bogs of New Jersey" (1910), in the National Child Labor Committee Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as* NCLC Papers*); Edward N. Clopper and Lewis W. Hine, "Child Labor in the Sugar-Beet Fields of Colorado,"* Child Labor Bulletin *(Feb. 1916), pp. 176-206; Florence I. Taylor, "Child Labor on the Farm," Ms., Dec. 8, 1916, NCLC Papers; Beatrice McConnell, "Child Labor in Agriculture,"* Annals, *Nov. 1944, pp. 92-100.*

[15]*Mrs. Arthur O. Granger, "The Work of the General Federation of Women's Clubs Against Child Labor,"* Annals *(May 1905), pp. 516-21; Norman J. Ware,* The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895 *(New York, 1929), p. 379 ff.; McQuade,* American Catholic Attitude, *p. 21; Felt,* Hostages of Fortune, *p. 10.*

[16]*Athey, "The Consumers' Leagues and Social Reform,"* passim*; Maud Nathan,* The Story of an Epoch-making Movement *(New York, 1926); Josephine Goldmark,* Impatient Crusader: Florence Kelley's Life Story *(Urbana, Ill., 1953); Frances Perkins, "My Recollections of Florence Kelley,"* Social Service Review *(Mar. 1954), pp. 12-19. See also Romona T. Mattson, "A Critical Evaluation of Florence Kelley's Speaking on the Child Labor Issue" (doctoral dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1956).*

[17]*Johnson, "Child Labor Legislation," p. 431; John Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge and the First National Child Labor Bill,"* Indiana Magazine of History, *Mar. 1964, p. 9.*

[18]*See, for example, Felix Adler,* The Attitude of Society Toward the Child as an Index of Civilization *(New York, 1907); Homer Folks, "The Charity Side of the Child Labor Problem,"* Charities, *Mar. 19, 1904, pp. 293-94; Albert H. Freiberg, "Some of the Ultimate Physical Effects of Premature Toil,"* Proc. Third ACCL *(New York, 1907), pp. 19-25; Ben B. Lindsey, "Juvenile Delinquency and Employment,"* Survey, *Nov. 4, 1911, pp. 1,097-100; Felix Adler, "Child Labor in the United States and Its Great Attendant Evils,"* Annals, *May 1905, p. 424; NCLC,* The Cost of Child Labor *(New York, 1905).*

[19]*John A. Kingsbury, "Child Labor and Poverty: Both Cause and Effect,"* Child Labor Bulletin, *May 1913, p. 34. See also Owen Lovejoy,* Child Labor and Philanthropy *(New York, 1907); Homer Folks, "Poverty and Parental Dependence as an Obstacle to Child Labor Reform,"* Annals, *Jan. 1907, pp. 1-8; Elizabeth Gilman, "School Scholarships–A Branch of Child Labor Work,"* Charities, *Mar. 2, 1907, pp. 971-73; George Hall,* Poverty and Child Labor *(New York, 1907).*

[20]*Maud King Murphy,* Edgar Gardner Murphy: From Records and Memories *(New York, 1943), pp. 47-50; Davidson,* Child Labor Legislation, *pp. 32-33; Robert H. Doherty, "Voices of Protest From the New South, 1875-1910,"* Mississippi Valley Historical Review, *June 1955, pp. 58-59; Hugh C. Bailey, "Edgar Gardner Murphy and the Child Labor Movement,"* Alabama Review, *Jan. 1965, p. 54.*

[21]*Fred S. Hall,* Forty Years, 1900-1942; The Work of the New York Child Labor Committee *(New York, 1943); Felt,* Hostages of Fortune, *pp. 38-62.*

[22]*Johnson, "Child Labor Legislation," p. 409; Felt,* Hostages of Fortune, *pp. 38-42; "Child Labor Legislation Then and Now,"* The Independent, *Mar. 29, 1906, pp. 746-47.*

[23]*Edgar Gardner Murphy, "The National Child Labor Committee,"* Charities, *June 4, 1904, pp. 574-75, and "Child Labor as a National Problem,"* Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction *(hereafter referred to as* Proc. NCCC*) (Atlanta, 1903);* New York Times, *Apr. 23, 1904; Goldmark,* Impatient Crusader, *pp. 92-96; Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge," pp. 11-12.*

[24]Minutes *of the First Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee [hereafter referred to as* NCLC Minutes*], Apr. 15, 1904,* NCLC Papers*; Murphy, "The National Child Labor Committee," pp. 574-76; "A National Child Labor Committee,"* Charities, *June 4, 1904, pp. 574-76.*

[25]*Hine's photographs were made into slides and used to illustrate lectures and were developed into striking exhibits that became an important part of the Committee's work. See* NCLC Minutes, *Oct. 27, 1909; NCLC,* Fifth Annual Report *(New York, 1909), p. 7; "They Led the Child Labor Crusade,"* Milwaukee Journal, *Sept. 21, 1966.*

[26]*Johnson, "Child Labor Legislation," pp. 409, 439-44; Grace Abbott, "Federal Regulation of Child Labor, 1906-1938,"* Social Service Review, *Sept. 1939, pp. 409-30;* NCLC Minutes, *May 12, 1913; Felix Adler, "The Abolition of Child Labor: A National Duty,"* Child Labor Bulletin, *May 1914, pp. 20-24. Earlier, the NCLC had decided against seeking or supporting Federal child labor legislation. See Walter I. Trattner, "The First Federal Child Labor Law (1916),"* Social Science Quarterly, *Dec. 1969, pp. 511-12; Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge," pp. 19-32.*

[27]NCLC Minutes, *Apr. 7, May 12, and Dec. 8, 1913, Jan. 22, 1914; Owen Lovejoy, "The Federal Government and Child Labor,"* Child Labor Bulletin, *Feb. 1914, pp. 19-25; NCLC press release, Jan. 26, 1914,* NCLC Papers. *For an excellent account of the provisions and legal principles involved in the bill, see Stephen B. Wood,* Constitutional Politics in the Progressive Era *(Chicago, 1968), pp. 28-37.*

[28]*Abbott,* The Child and the State, *I, pp. 476-80; Wood,* Constitutional Politics, *pp. 31-46;* New York Times, *Jan. 7, 1915; Davidson,* Child Labor Legislation, *pp. 255-56; NCLC* Minutes, *Jan. 26, 1915.*

[29]*Wood,* Constitutional Politics, *pp. 41-42; Davidson,* Child Labor Legislation, *p. 257;* New York Times, *Mar. 16, 1915. See also U.S.* Congressional Record, *63d Cong., 3d Sess. (1915), pp. 3,834-46; "Federal Child Labor Bill Passes the House,"* Survey, *Feb. 27, 1915), p. 569.*

[30]*Trattner, "First Federal Child Labor Law," pp. 517-22;* New York Times, *Sept. 2, 1916; U.S.* Congressional Record, *64th Cong. 1st sess. (1916), pp. 2,007-35, 12,281, 12,284; Davidson,* Child Labor Legislation, *p. 257; Wood,* Constitutional Politics, *pp. 56-57, 77-78. The full text of the measure ("An Act to Prevent Interstate Commerce in the Products of Child Labor and for Other Purposes") appears in Abbott,* The Child and the State *I, pp. 483-86.*

[31]Hammer v. Dagenhart *[247 U.S. 251 (1918)]. See also Alpheus T. Mason and William M. Beaney,* American Constitutional Law *(Englewood Cliffs, 1958), pp.*

277-81; Wood, Constitutional Politics, pp. 119-59.

[32] There were objections to using the taxing power of the Congress to restrict child labor because it might appear that the Federal Government was recognizing employers' rights to hire young children provided they paid the tax and would through such exploitation make money. But it was also felt that the situation was critical and that the only alternative to taxation, amending the U.S. Constitution, would take too long. See Wood, Constitutional Politics, pp. 195-209; "Tax Child Labor Out of Existence," unsigned ms., Oct. 14, 1918, NCLC Papers. See also Johnson, "Child Labor Legislation," p. 443; NCLC Minutes, Nov. 6 and Dec. 17, 1918; "Taxes to Drive Out Child Labor," Survey, Nov. 23, 1918, p. 221. The full text of the bill appears in Child Labor Bulletin, Feb. 1919, p. 4.

[33] Child Labor Bulletin, Feb. 1919, pp. 229-34; Irvine L. Lenroot, "Taxing Child Labor Out of Industry," pp. 254-56; NCLC press release, Nov. 13, 1919, NCLC Papers, Wood, Constitutional Politics, pp. 205-06, 214-16.

[34] Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Company [259 U.S. 42 (1922)]; Mason and Beaney, American Constitutional Law, pp. 327-29; Wood, Constitutional Politics, pp. 277-81; "Invalid," Survey May 20, 1922, pp. 266-67.

[35] New York Times, May 18 and 20, 1922.

[36] "Foes of the Amendment," American Child, Mar. 1924, p. 1. See also Norman Hapgood, Professional Patriots, (New York, 1927), pp. 170-75; New York Times, June 28, Oct. 11, and Dec. 9, 1922; George Soule, "Liberty in Politics," New Republic, Sept. 2, 1936, p. 97 ff.

[37] NCLC, Handbook on the Federal Child Labor Amendment (New York, 1937), pp. 12-16; Abbott, The Child and the State I, pp. 536, 544-45; U.S. Congressional Record, 68th Cong., 1st Sess. (1924), part 7, p. 7,295, and part 10, p. 10,142; Davidson, Child Labor Legislation, p. 270; NCLC press release, June 23, 1924, NCLC Papers; American Child, May 1924, p. 11, and June 1924, p. 1.

[38] For an excellent account of the fight for ratification of the amendment, see Richard B. Sherman, "The Rejection of the Child Labor Amendment," Mid-America, Jan. 1963, pp. 3-17. See also Abbott, "Federal Regulation," pp. 419-20; New Republic, May 20, 1925, p. 330.

[39] A detailed analysis of the arguments used to discredit the amendment can be found in the congressional hearings and in articles, pamphlets, and editorials too numerous to cite. For a good summary of the main arguments, however, see Johnson, "Child Labor Legislation," pp. 446-50, or John A. Ryan, The Proposed Child Labor Amendment (New York, 1924).

[40] Quoted in Abbott, The Child and the State, I, pp. 446-47. See also the Manufacturers' Record, Oct. 2, 1924, p. 45, and Nov. 13, 1924, p. 62.

[41] Manufacturers' Record, Sept. 11, 1924, p. 2. See also New York Times, Aug. 18, 1924; Manufacturers News, Aug. 30, 1924, p. 4; Anne K. Brown, "Opposition to the Child Labor Amendment Found in Trade Journals, Industrial Bulletins, and Other Publications for and by Businessmen" (master's essay, University of Chicago, 1934).

[42] Samuel McCune Lindsay to Owen Lovejoy, Mar. 9, 1925, NCLC Papers; Owen Lovejoy, "It's Up to the States," American Child, June 1925, p. 1; NCLC Minutes, Mar. 15 and May 20, 1925; H. Stephen Rauschenbusch, The Child Labor Complication in 1925 (New York, 1925).

[43] See, for example, NCLC press releases, Oct. 25, 1930; Mar. 30, Apr. 4, and Nov. 28, 1932; and May 26, 1933, NCLC Papers; New York Times, Dec. 7, 1931, and Apr. 4 and Nov. 8, 28, and 29, 1932; "Can We Use Unemployment to Reduce Child Labor?" American Child, Sept. 1930, p. 2; Clare L. Lewis, "Child Workers in an Unemployment Period," American Child, Jan. 1931, p. 1; Courtenay Dinwiddie, "Their Fathers' Job?" Survey, Dec. 15, 1930, pp. 319-20.

[44] The nine States that ratified the amendment in regular session were Illinois, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Washington. See American Child, Jan. 1934, p. 1.

[45] American Child, Dec. 1934, p. 2, Mar. 1934, p. 2, and Apr. 1934, p. 3; New York Post, Apr. 17, 1934. Especially vicious at this time were attacked on Florence Kelley, who had died in Feb. 1932. See American Child Mar. 1934, p. 2.

[46] The flier, issued in 1936 by the Edmonson Economic Service (New York City), is in the Frank P. Walsh Papers, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York, N.Y. See also NCLC, The Farmers and the Federal Child Labor Amendment (New York, 1931); American Child, Nov. 1934, p. 2, and Mar. 1935, p. 1; Clarence E. Martin, "Shall Americanism Remain?" Commonweal, Apr. 13, 1934, pp. 649-51.

[47] New York Times, Dec. 28, 1933; American Child, Mar. 1935, p. 4; NCLC, Handbook on the Federal Child Labor Amendment, pp. 37-38; Miriam Keeler, "The Child Labor Amendment: Its History and Prospects," Social Science, July 1935. p. 259.

[48] Later, President Roosevelt's "court-packing" plan would be used against the amendment to frighten persons who regarded the Supreme Court as a bulwark against abuse of the amendment's broad grant of power, should it pass.

[49] The four ratifying States were Idaho, Indiana, Utah, and Wyoming.

[50] New York Times, Jan. 9, 1937; Time Magazine, Jan. 18, 1937, p. 13; NCLC press release, Jan. 7, 1937, NCLC Papers; NCLC, Thirty-Third Annual Report (New York, 1937), pp. 20-21.

[51] New York Herald Tribune, Feb. 21, 1937; NCLC, Thirty-Third Annual Report, pp. 20-21; American Child, Mar. 1937, p. 1.

[52] United States v. Darby, [312 U.S. 100 (1941)]; Mason and Beaney, American Constitutional Law, pp. 305-07. See also "The Significance of the Supreme Court Decision," American Child, Mar. 1941, p. 1; John S. Forsythe, "Legislative History of the Fair Labor Standards Act," Law and Contemporary Problems, Winter 1939, pp. 464-90. An excellent brief account of the politics involved in the drafting of the child labor provisions of the measure is "The Child Labor Provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act," by Jeremy P. Felt, a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians, Dallas, Tex., Apr. 20, 1968.

[53] However, as Jeremy P. Felt pointed out in his paper on "The Child Labor Provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act," child labor may soon increase. A growing number of people attribute many of the Nation's domestic problems, especially the apparent rise in violence and juvenile delinquency, to too much free time among the young, many of whom would have been child laborers in an earlier day. A part solution to these problems, these people say, is to put children and young people to work. Such a simplistic solution—aimed chiefly at keeping ghetto children off the streets—is mingled with more serious efforts to achieve a long-range program for disadvantaged young people.

Turnover Rates in Public Assistance Programs

FOR ALL THE INTEREST shown in "turnover rates" in public assistance, little effort has been put into actually defining the concept or developing appropriate measures. The principal reason for the neglect has been the absence of adequate data with which to measure caseload turnover. Yet turnover rates are critical in policymaking, for they reflect in part the degree to which public assistance is successful. In this article I try to clarify the ideas involved and to provide preliminary empirical measures, particularly for those aspects of turnover where empirical data are needed but are not available.

Three issues

The concept of "caseload turnover" is applicable to the three distinctly identifiable issues of *population coverage* (How many separate families receive public assistance in any given span of time?); *recidivism* (How often do families return to public assistance?); and *tenure* (How long do families receive public assistance?). Though the three issues are clearly interrelated, the resolution of one does not imply the resolution of any other. In fact, where the characteristics of the persons served are continually changing or coverage is small, the measures may move in diverse directions. Each issue must be considered separately.

A random sample of families receiving aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) in 1968 provides the empirical substance for my discussion. The sample design and field work were carried out by the National Opinion Research Center, and the survey results were compiled and analyzed by the Bureau of Social Science Research.[1] The completed sample included 11,623 cases; about 9,000 in 10 major metropolitan areas, the others in rural areas. At the time of the survey (February-May 1968), not all the sample cases were receiving AFDC. To achieve an adequate description of the entire public assistance population, both closed cases (2,853) and ineligible cases (1,784) were included in the sample design. Unless otherwise indicated, all my estimates are derived from the entire sample.

Population coverage

Of critical importance in determining the Nation's success in alleviating poverty is an assessment of how many families are eligible for and actually receive public assistance. Usually the number is assessed by comparing the number of poor families eligible for categorical assistance (for example, AFDC) with the current caseload size. But this method is inadequate where the composition of the caseload (and even the kinds of persons served) is constantly changing. In a situation where families both enter and leave the public assistance program during a year, discrepancies are bound to exist between the number of separate families assisted and the average caseload size for any given year. To the extent that this discrepancy exists, the extent of dependency is underestimated in citing current caseload figures.

"Program coverage" means the total number of separate families who receive public assistance at any time during a year. Estimation would be no problem, of course, if calculations included the number of different families served in each jurisdiction. But data on assistance programs are gathered only for the number of families receiving assistance at any given point in time. Though such data have their uses (for example, in determining program cost), they do not indicate the extent of program coverage.

To calculate program coverage for any given period of time, at least these three measures are needed:

Caseload size at the beginning of the period (c).
Number of case openings during the period (o).
Number of families receiving public assistance for more than one continuous episode during the period (r).

From these quantities program coverage (P) can be estimated as follows: $P=c+o-r$.[2]

Data on c and o are collected regularly by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Measures of r are more difficult to come by, as there is no regular procedure for sorting cases from o. The data from AFDC surveys provide insight into this important measure.

Based on AFDC surveys for 1967 and 1968, about 1.8 percent of the annual AFDC caseload is composed of families that have been on assistance more than once in a calendar year. Accordingly, program coverage can be estimated from the data presented in table 1. Applying the formula to the data brings this result: at some time during 1967, about 1,800,000 different families received AFDC assistance; at some time during 1968 about 2,061,000.

What is especially significant about these estimates is the extent to which they differ from figures on average caseload size. From the data in table 1, it is apparent that the annual number of persons receiving AFDC is 50 percent greater than the average number of persons receiving AFDC at any single time during the year. Thus, figures on current or average caseload size grossly understate the extent to which public assistance reaches persons in need.

Table 1.–Selected data on the AFDC program, 1967 and 1968

Program coverage	1967	1968
c: Initial caseload size	1,127,000	1,297,000
o: Openings during year	709,000	806,000
r: Families with repeated episodes during year	21,000	25,000
Average caseload during year	1,200,000	1,400,000

Source: The figure for repeaters (*r*) is 1.8 percent of the average caseload size, as suggested by the AFDC survey (see text). The other figures were obtained directly from the National Center for Social Statistics, Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Table 2.–Recidivism among AFDC recipients, 1965-68

Total number of families in sample	Number of families with two or more episodes of dependency between January 1965 and–		
	December 1965	December 1966	December 1967
11,623	97	350	1,036

Recidivism

Much information about the cycle of public assistance can be conveyed by appropriate measures of recidivism. One specific use of such measures has been demonstrated. In general, we need to know how many former recipients return to public assistance, how often they return, and for how long they receive assistance during each episode. But the ultimate question, if we are to offer help at critical points, is this: What determines public assistance patterns?

For the years 1960 and 1961, data on recidivism are available from both an HEW study and from an independent survey.[3] Both studies indicate that about 35 percent of the then current recipients had previously received public assistance. Data from the 1967 Characteristics Study suggest that the proportion may have been as high as 40 percent.[4]

But even the more recent figures on recidivism do not accurately reflect how likely a once-dependent family is of returning to public assistance. When consideration is given to a family's entire dependency cycle, rather than to just its experience before the survey date, it must be assumed that a higher proportion of recipients will return to public assistance before their eligibility ends. That is to say, the number (and proportion) of families having more than one period of dependency rises as the span of observation time is extended.

This phenomenon can be observed on a small scale in the 1968 AFDC sample, which included a detailed inquiry into the recipient's dependency status over a 3-year period. For each month from January 1965 to December 1967, the AFDC respondent was asked to recall whether or not she had received public assistance. Table 2 shows how the number of families returning to public assistance grew in time, based on the results of the survey. The number and proportion of 1968 AFDC sample families returning to public assistance in a 24-month period were triple the comparable figure for a 12-month period.[5] Similar increases took place as the horizon of observation was extended to the full 36-month period, at which point 3 percent of the families had returned to public assistance. And we may expect that such progression will continue until the much higher percentages (from 35 to 40) cited are reached or exceeded.[6]

These tabulations refer to families who returned to public assistance at least once. But many left and returned more than once, as many more will do as time passes. During the 36-month observation period alone, 887 sample families had three separate episodes of dependency (that is, returned twice) and 174 families had four or more. Other data suggest that the proportion of families having at least three separate episodes of dependency will eventually exceed 15 percent.

Tenure

The third issue raised by a discussion of caseload turnover concerns the total length of time families receive public assistance. Thus the term "tenure" refers both to the duration of separate episodes (as discussed above) and to the total time on public assistance for all episodes.

As with recidivism, there are definite biases in data now collected on

dependency tenure. To measure the ultimate duration of currently active cases requires longitudinal data. One method would be to collect tenure data for families whose eligibility has expired. But the end of eligibility is seldom conclusive, for later developments may restore it. Nor is a cross-sectional survey of closed cases an effective substitute for the data required, as the cases closed at any given point in time will contain a disproportionate number of eventual repeaters, thus biasing downward the average duration of dependency.

Data from the AFDC Characteristics Studies for 1961 and 1967 indicate that the average AFDC family spent a median of 2.1 years, or 25 months, on assistance after its case was opened or reopened. But, because so many of these families would be dependent beyond the survey date, even this figure is seriously in error. Yet, to determine the total length of time a family is dependent, we need figures that accurately reflect both the number of episodes and the length of each.

There may be a strong negative correlation between the number of times a family falls back on public assistance and the duration of each episode. In theory the ultimate necessity of this correlation is obvious, but in reality the relationship is not clear: it cannot be safely assumed that a family with more than one episode is likely to stay on the active caseload a significantly shorter time than the family receiving assistance only once.

A comparison of the 1968 AFDC sample and the 1961 and 1967 Characteristics Studies points up the relation between the number of episodes and the length of time as an active case. Through the longitudinal data included in the 1968 sample, it is possible to compare recidivism rates with the duration of separate public assistance episodes over a 36-month period. What the data indicate is that a family with only one distinct public assistance episode stayed on the caseload for an average of 7.7 months; families with two or more for 4.8 months. Thus, the suspected negative correlation is observable within the confines of the 36-month sample.

What undermines the significance of these observations is the continuing dependency of both repeaters (recidivists) and one-time families. Before their dependency ends for all time, families may have destroyed the posited correlation. In fact, a more extended retrospective observation of AFDC families suggests that this is what actually happens. Thus, the 1961 Characteristics Study (table 42) shows a weak relationship between the number of previous openings (recidivism) and the duration of the most recent episode. Accordingly, we cannot arrive at true estimates of the immediate or ultimate duration of a family's dependency.

Discussion

Despite the amount of time and money spent over the past 30 years on public assistance programs, we know little about dependency patterns. The lack is due in no small part to a continuing reluctance to conduct and support longitudinal studies of dependent families. Yet even the very small amount of longitudinal data available, which this study has used, demonstrate the analytical potential of such information. In particular, static data on program size grossly underestimate the coverage of public assistance programs, tend to submerge the common phenomenon of repeated use of public assistance, and convey practically no information on the duration of dependency.

Given the very high incidence of recidivism among dependent families, it is surprising that so little attention has been directed toward an examination of this phenomenon. Yet more information about the differential characteristics of repeaters and nonrepeaters appears to be of potentially great value in shaping effective public assistance policies. For example, it seems likely that employment history and family growth are two important determinants of the assistance patterns sketched in this article. If so, then a clearer understanding of the nature and strength of these relationships could aid considerably in the development of public assistance and employment programs for the needy.

THOUGH I HAVE PRESENTED here preliminary estimates of some of these issues, the more important task of my article has been to outline some of the more pressing needs for research into turnover rates.

BRADLEY R. SCHILLER

About the author . . .

When he wrote this article, **Bradley R. Schiller** *was an economist in the Division of Economic and Long-range Studies, Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration. He is now an assistant professor in the Department of Economics, College of Business and Public Administration, University of Maryland.*

[1] *The results of that analysis, together with a complete sample description, are reported in* Welfare Policy and Its Consequences for the Recipient Population: A Study of the AFDC Program, *Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dec. 1969. The two organizations referred to in the text are private research corporations.*

[2] *This formulation assumes that no families are on public assistance for more than two noncontiguous episodes during the period. Over a year's time the assumption holds up well, but for longer periods r would have to be replaced by* $\Sigma(n-1)r_i$.

where n = the number of noncontiguous episodes of each returning family (r_i).

[3] *U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,* Study of Families Receiving Aid to Families With Dependent Children; *M. Elaine Burgess and Daniel O. Price,* An American Dependency Challenge *(Chicago: American Public Welfare Association), 1963.*

[4] DHEW Findings of the 1967 AFDC Study: Selected Characteristics by State and Census Division, *Mar. 1970, table 11.*

[5] *The number of families returning in each of the three separate 12-month periods varied considerably. The* average *for a 12-month period is 196, a figure that gives rise to the percentage used above (see* Population coverage*).*

[6] *The families represented in table 2 are those that both left and returned to public assistance in the stipulated period. A much higher percentage received public assistance before and after the observation period.*

Public Assistance in March and April 1970

THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE receiving aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) in April 1970 topped 8 million for the first time since the program began. Altogether, 139,000 more persons received AFDC in April than in March, and all but four States had increases. Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and West Virginia each reported a decrease of less than 1 percent.

The number of people receiving old-age assistance (OAA) and aid to the blind (AB) decreased by 16,000 and 400. The number receiving aid to the permanently and totally disabled (APTD) increased by 7,000—the smallest increase in 7 months. These changes reflect the fact that some cases were closed because the first payments under the 15 percent increase in social security benefits that became effective January 1, 1970, were made in April. (The benefit increase and its effect on OAA are discussed below.) The number of persons receiving general assistance (GA) increased by 6,000. See table for each program's total number of recipients.

Recent changes in public assistance: Recipients, payments, and money payments per recipient, March and April 1970 compared with selected earlier months

Program	April 1968	April 1969	March 1970	April 1970
Recipients of money payments				
Old-age assistance	2,028,000	2,031,000	2,066,000	2,050,000
Aid to the blind	81,400	80,200	80,300	79,900
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	660,000	738,000	830,000	837,000
Aid to families with dependent children:				
Families	1,374,000	1,643,000	2,024,000	2,069,000
Recipients	5,612,000	6,551,000	7,862,000	8,001,000
Children	4,203,000	4,869,000	5,794,000	5,892,000
General assistance:				
Cases	360,000	397,000	452,000	460,000
Recipients	762,000	804,000	932,000	938,000
Assistance payments (in 000's)				
Total	$844,178	$945,370	$1,119,225	$1,142,845
Money payments, total	457,290	535,785	652,526	657,528
Old-age assistance	136,733	143,307	155,189	152,502
Aid to the blind	7,345	7,577	8,041	8,155
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	53,313	62,751	76,814	77,955
Aid to families with dependent children	227,093	283,919	364,088	370,384
General assistance	32,806	38,231	48,394	48,532
Medical assistance, total	386,888	394,669	438,372	456,505
Federally aided	381,757	388,939	432,211	448,929
General assistance	5,131	5,730	6,161	7,576
Emergency assistance	—	—	826	775
Payments to intermediate care facilities	—	14,916	27,501	28,037
Money payments per recipient				
Old-age assistance	$67.40	$70.55	$75.10	$74.40
Aid to the blind	90.25	94.45	100.10	102.05
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	80.80	85.10	92.55	93.10
Aid to families with dependent children:				
Average per family	165.30	172.85	179.85	179.00
Average per recipient	40.45	43.35	46.30	46.30
General assistance:				
Average per case	91.25	96.35	107.00	105.45
Average per recipient	43.05	47.55	51.95	51.75

Money payments

Total money payments in April were $657.5 million—$5 million more than in March. The increase for AFDC—$6.3 million—more than accounted for the national increase in total payments. In OAA the decrease of $2.7 million, which resulted from the rise in social security benefits, was the largest since social security benefits were last raised, in the spring of 1968. The increases of $114,000 in AB and $1,141,000 in APTD reflected, in part, the relatively substantial increases in these programs in California. Roughly $138,000 more was spent for GA in April than in March.

Emergency assistance payments in April went to 7,100 families with needy children and amounted to $775,000. These totals do not include amounts for New York City, the District of Columbia, and a few States from which reports are incomplete. Persons in intermediate care facilities numbered 114,000 in reporting States; total payments for them amounted to $28 million.

Payments for medical assistance (including GA) came to $456.6 million in April—an increase of $18.1 over the total for March. For the first 10 months of fiscal year 1970 (July 1, 1969-June 30, 1970), total expenditures were $4.1 billion, a half billion, or about 12 percent, more than in the same 10 months of fiscal year 1969. Federally aided programs, primarily medicaid, accounted for more than $9 out of every $10 spent for medical assistance in both years.

Material in this article is based on NCSS Report A-2 (3/70) and NCSS Report A-2 (4/70). Copies of these reports may be obtained by writing the National Center for Social Statistics, Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201.

Effect of changes

The increase in social security benefits averaged about $10 per month for the beneficiaries who also received assistance under the adult public assistance programs. Over 60 percent of all OAA recipients are also social security beneficiaries. Benefit payments received in April included retroactive payments covering the increase for the preceding 3 months, and the March payment, which included the increase.

The Federal law specifies that all retroactive payments to beneficiary-recipients, including children, are to be exempt from consideration in determining the amount of the assistance payment of a beneficiary-recipient. In addition, current Federal law requires that, until October 31, 1970, beneficiary-recipients in the adult programs are to have at least $4 more per month in total income, including assistance, than they had before benefit payments were raised. Broadly speaking, States could meet this requirement in one of two ways:

By providing an increase in income of $4 or more for all recipients.

By disregarding the first $4 of the benefit increase in computing the assistance payment of a beneficiary-recipient.

Under the first method, the increase for persons who are not beneficiary-recipients would have to come from larger assistance payments. The Congress urged the States to raise assistance payments for all other adult assistance recipients, pointing out that the "savings" resulting from reduced payments to beneficiary-recipients (after allowing them $4 monthly in additional income) would finance larger assistance payments to the other assistance recipients.

The fact that the March-April decrease in the average monthly payment per OAA recipient was only 70 cents and the decrease in aggregate OAA payments was only $2.7 million indicated that some part of the "savings" was passed on to elderly persons who are not beneficiaries, otherwise the drop in both the average payment per recipient and aggregate payments would have been considerably larger. Similar procedures undoubtedly were followed in AB and APTD, but because the number of beneficiary-recipients is relatively small in these programs, the effect is not measurable from monthly data. In AFDC only a few States raised the amount of total income for all assistance recipients by permitting beneficiary-recipients to retain all or part of the benefit increase and raising assistance payments to other recipients.

The Diplomatic Route to Federal-State Cooperation

The Influence of Federal Grants: Public Assistance in Massachusetts, *Martha Derthick, Harvard University Press, 1970, 285 pp., $8.50.*

FOR THE STUDENT of American government and politics—particularly of intergovernmental (Federal, State, and local) relations—the politician, and the government worker, no book is more welcome than *The Influence of Federal Grants.* Designed to analyze the grant-in-aid system as an instrument of Federal influence, it satisfies, partly, the current need for a comprehensive analysis of the nature and complexity of intergovernmental administration. (The case for such a need is set forth well in "Symposium on Needs and Prospects for Research in Intergovernmental Relations," *Public Administration Review,* May-June 1970, pp. 264-275).

Specifically, Derthick is concerned with these questions:

> Does the grant system lead to Federal control at the State and local levels? If so, just what actions are controlled and how?
>
> What is the meaning of control for the structure of American institutions and the processes of American politics?
>
> How effective is Federal control in attaining the goals of government?

Derthick's setting for exploring each question is a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the effect of Federal grant-in-aid programs in a single State, Massachusetts, one well suited, in her opinion, to demonstrate the conflicting, as well as cooperative, associations between Federal, State, and local governments. She uses the case study method because it "facilitates the tracing of federal influence all the way to the bottom of intergovernmental hierarchy." But she clearly recognizes the limitations of her method: though the public assistance program provides information on formula grants, it does not typify the extent of Federal influence throughout the grants program. Furthermore, because of geographic, social, economic, and political variations among States, Massachusetts fails to completely portray how all States respond to and carry out Federal policy on public assistance.

Neither of these limitations detracts from her sound, unmistakably clear, and logical discussion on the basis for and methods of exerting Federal influence in the Massachusetts public assistance program. She points out that the basis of influence is the goals the Federal Government holds and pursues. Primarily concerned with the adequacy of assistance, the equity and efficiency of administration, helping public assistance recipients become independent by rendering different types of social services, and the professionalization of State and local workers, the Federal Government, to realize its goals, must also persuade the States (particularly their administrative agencies) to work toward those ends. The method of persuasion, or exertion of influence, rests, Derthick convincingly argues, on the type of alliance between Federal and State administrative agencies.

The type of alliance established derives, in part, from the nature of the public assistance program. Public assistance is in principal a voluntary program (for the decision to join and remain in the program ultimately rests with the States). For that reason the Federal Government must cooperate with, rather than dominate the actions of, a State. Consequently, any exertion of Federal influence or enforcement is one of "persuasion" not control. Derthick says:

> Federal enforcement is a diplomatic process. It is as if the terms of a treaty, an agreement of mutual interest to the two governmental parties, were more or less continuously being negotiated. In these negotiations, numerous diplomatic forms and manners are observed, especially by the federal negotiators. . . . . The federal negotiators refrain from making statements in public, for they want to avoid the appearance of meddling in the internal affairs of the states. They refrain from making overt threats. They are patient. . . . They are polite. . . . They make small gestures of deference to the host government, as by offering to meet at times and at places of its choosing (p. 209).

Diplomacy is, Derthick implies, no less important and effective for other types of grant-in-aid programs. Conciliatory action is more pronounced, possibly, for the public assistance program because that program "seems to have been regarded as the very model of what ought to be avoided." And yet, conciliation is evident in, if not the cornerstone of, all grant-in-aid programs. Where States are not compelled to participate—regardless of the type of program—Federal influence, to be successful, must be exerted through cooperation and persuasion rather than coercion.

Derthick believes that the grant system does not lead to Federal control. Instead, the Federal Government persuades the States through negotiation that the goals pursued by

all government bodies—Federal, State, and local—can best be achieved cooperatively. The results of such cooperative action are not only the attainment of the goals all are seeking but also the strengthening of the agencies, especially the State and local. In becoming stronger State and local governments are stimulated to more creative endeavors. Thus, grant-in-aid programs, whether public assistance or block grants for highway construction, strengthen the principle of a federal system of government.

IN SUMMATION, Derthick provides an excellent analysis of the nature of Federal influence in a grant-in-aid program: the outcome of that influence, how it is exercised, and the extent of its effectiveness. Undoubtedly some readers will find shortcoming, for shortcomings do appear in *The Influence of Federal Grants*, but for the most part Derthick has written a book bound to be a prime reference for all persons interested in the politics of Federal grants.

Ronald J. Pedone
Statistical Standards Staff
Office of the Assistant Commissioner
National Center for Educational Statistics
U.S. Office of Education

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Office of the Assistant Secretary, Comptroller

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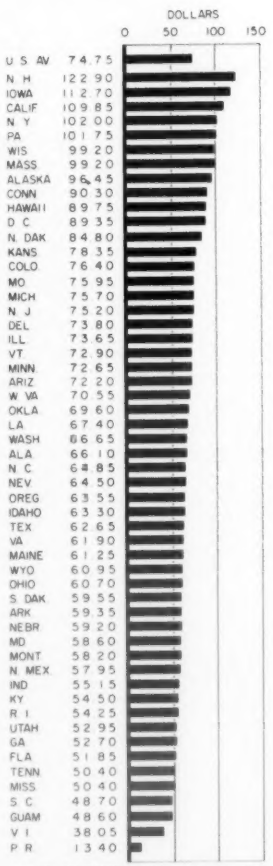
AVERAGE MONTHLY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE MONEY PAYMENT PER RECIPIENT, JUNE 1970

OLD - AGE ASSISTANCE



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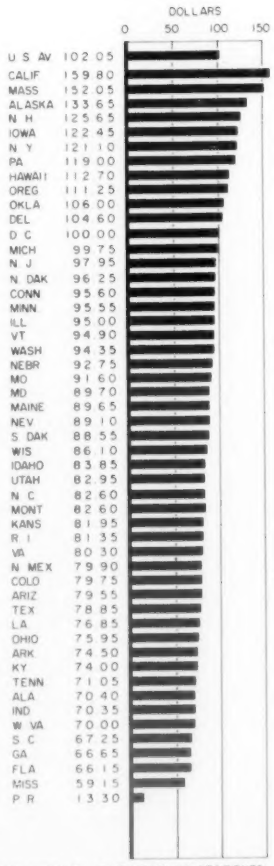

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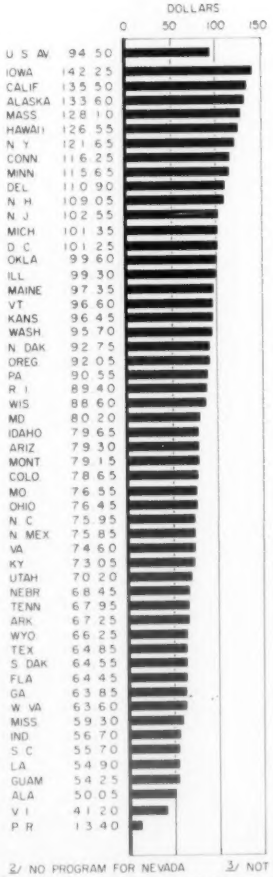
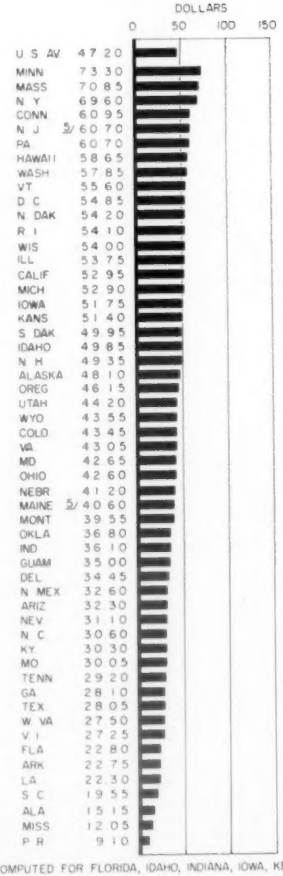
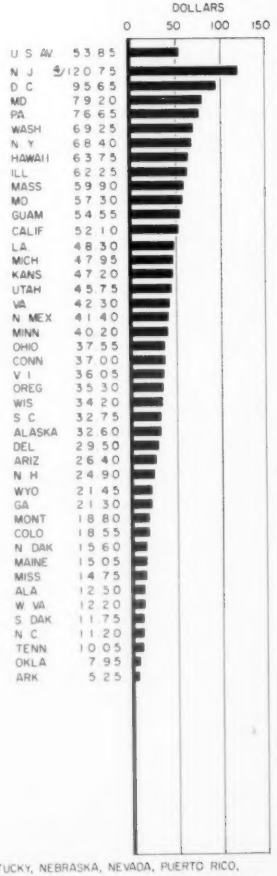


AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN



GENERAL ASSISTANCE 3/



1/ NOT COMPUTED FOR GUAM, VIRGIN ISLANDS, AND WYOMING; FEWER THAN 50 RECIPIENTS RHODE ISLAND, TEXAS, AND VERMONT; DATA NOT AVAILABLE

2/ NO PROGRAM FOR NEVADA

3/ NOT COMPUTED FOR FLORIDA, IDAHO, INDIANA, IOWA, KENTUCKY, NEBRASKA, NEVADA, PUERTO RICO,

4/ BASED ON DATA INCLUDING AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF CASES RECEIVING MEDICAL CARE, HOSPITALIZATION, AND BURIAL ONLY, AND TOTAL PAYMENTS FOR THESE SERVICES

5/ RECIPIENT DATA ESTIMATED

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